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1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY
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The UNIVERSITY *of* PENNSYLVANIA

LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Issued four times a year by and for the Friends of the Library of the University

C. Seymour Thompson — Editor

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Walt Whitman Exhibition.

Some Early English Imprints. *Mary Cathryne Park.*

Moral Philosophy In 1783.

Vol 10 No 1 — April 1942

WALT WHITMAN EXHIBITION

By the courtesy of Mrs. Frank Julian Sprague, of New York, her very notable collection of material relating to Walt Whitman will be on exhibition at the University Museum, Thirty-third and Spruce streets, from May 9 to June 27. On Friday evening, May 8, the first opportunity to view the exhibition will be given the Friends of the Library after the close of a meeting, for which an unusually attractive program of addresses and music has been arranged, to be held in the auditorium of the Museum (entrance at Thirty-fourth and Spruce streets) at eight o'clock.

This collection, which has been assembled by Mrs. Sprague in the course of many years, has recently been on display at the Library of Congress; the kindness of Mrs. Sprague in now permitting its exhibition under the auspices of the University, brings to book-lovers in Philadelphia a rare opportunity. We quote from the catalogue of the exhibition which the Library of Congress printed, to express our "appreciation of Mrs. Sprague's great service to American poetry and to the American tradition of which Walt Whitman is not only the poet but the symbol."

From May 9 to June 27, the exhibition will be open on weekdays, except Mondays, from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., and on Sundays, from 1 to 5 p. m.

SOME EARLY ENGLISH IMPRINTS

By Mary Cathryne Park

[An indispensable tool of research for students of English literatu is the *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotlan and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640;* a wo commonly known by the breath-saving title "The S.T.C." Under t supervision of Dr. William Warner Bishop, until recently librarian the University of Michigan, a checklist of American-owned copies books entered in the S.T.C. is in preparation, to which several of t Philadelphia libraries were asked to contribute a list of their holdin Under the direction of Dr. W. B. McDaniel, 2nd, librarian of t College of Physicians, this was made a cooperative enterprise; M Park, a graduate student in English at the University, was engaged check the large volume with the Union Catalogue of Philadelp libraries, to locate all titles available in any libraries of the city. I work, which was exceedingly well done, revealed many facts of inte in connection with the University's holdings, and some of these she set forth for us in the following article.—*Editor.*]

"And now my Booke it is doubtfull what entertainment t shalt find," was the author's note to his book, *Newe Rec tions.* "Printed by Augustine Mathews, for Luke Faune," runs the imprint, "and sold at the great North door of S Paul's in the year 1631." Nicholas Hunt, arithmetic could not have dreamed, even over the ale of *The Mitre,* w entertainment in the twentieth century a little book with fa pages and a dusty leather cover would receive. Forgotte Nicholas Hunt, Master of Arts from Oxford; and the "h and mighty Monarch, Charles, of great Britaine . . .", to w the book was dedicated, remains, a name in history. But

author's final word to his book is as alive and delightful as the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury: ". . . be trudging, and good lucke goe with thee, let a happy fortune attend thy paces. . ."

A recent checking of a part of the *Short-title Catalogue* in the Philadelphia area revealed, in the libraries of the University of Pennsylvania, a wealth of books printed in England between 1475 and 1640. Aside from eighteen copies of *S.T.C.* books, hitherto unrecorded in America, probably the most interesting phase of the work is the discovery of thirty-four additions to the *Short-title Catalogue*. This little group of titles may have some interest to the Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library.

The most important classifications are, of course, law and religion, but a number of single items deserve mention. Among these are *The Second Part of the Mirrour for Magistrates,* edited by John Higgins; and an edition of the poems of Horace, illustrated by J. Bond, in 1606. To offset the threat of famine, Charles caused to be published, in 1622 and again in 1630, *Orders Appointed by His Majestie to be Straightly Observed, for the Preventing and Remedying of the Dearth of Graine and Other Victuall.* More general books of instruction and example included *A Direction to the Husbandman in a New Way of Fertilizing Areable Grounds* (1634); *Horse Mans Honour; or, The Beautie of Horsemanship* (1620); and, by William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, *Certaine preceptes, or Directions for the Well Ordering and Carriage of a Man's Life* (1616). A translation of Wirsung's *Generall Practice of Physicke* by one J. Mosan (1598), and an *Atlas, or Geographicke Description of the World* (1636) served an obvious utilitarian purpose.

Two copies of plays are included in the additions to the *S.T.C.,* a 1640 edition of *A Mad World My Masters* by Thomas Middleton; and, by Thomas Randolph, one of the

"sons of Ben," *Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry,* a pastoral acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall, and printed at Oxford by L. Lichfield, printer to the University, for Francis Bowman.

One of the most popular literary motifs of the day, following the work of Chaucer and Lydgate, and probably in imitation of the *Mirrour for Magistrates* of 1578, was Lodowick Lloyd's *Pilgrimage of Princes* (1586). Lloyd, a conspicuous figure at the court of Elizabeth and James I, has a minor claim to fame as "her Maiesties Seargeant at Armes," and as the only man to pay fitting funeral honors to the poet Spenser. The *Pilgrimage of Princes* recounts in loose panorama the lives of the famous and unfortunate. Thomas Churchyard wrote commendatory verse and unconsciously pointed to the endless dullness of the work:

> He shewes by learned lines, our painefull pilgrims state:
> And how the prince and people both, driues out their dreery date.

Dullness and discipline, however, were alliterative and synonymous:

> Thus as my cunning serues, and cause requires in deed:
> I prayse the worke and like the man, that giues you this to reede.

One of the earliest and most popular law books of the time was that written by Sir Thomas Littleton, a judge and member of the Inner Temple in the reign of Edward IV. Littleton's *Tenures* (*Les Tenures de Monsieur Littleton. . .* London, n.d.), written primarily for the instruction of his son, Richard, gives an account of the several estates and tenures then known to English law. Its most famous editor in the sixteenth century was no less a person than William Rastell, judge of the Queen's Bench under Elizabeth. Rastell is to be remembered as the elder son of the printer, John

Rastell, the friend and brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More. William also edited, aside from *The Works of Sir Thomas More, knight,* most of the legal works of his day, *A Collection of all the Statutes* . . . and Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium.* Probably one of the most distinguished of all the law books, three variant issues of which are to be found in the Biddle Law Library, is Christopher Saint-Germain's *Dyaloges in Englishe, betwene a Doctour of Divinitie and a student in the lawes of England.* A handbook for law students, the *Dyaloges* were not superseded until the eighteenth-century appearance of Blackstone's *Commentaries.* The Henry Charles Lea Library and the Biddle Law Library also possess rare editions of works by William Lambard, historian of Kent and keeper of records at the Rolls Chapel and the Tower in the reign of Elizabeth.

"Gentle Reader, and deere countrieman," wrote Thomas Wilson, in his *Discourse vppon vsurye* (1584), a notable addition to the *S.T.C.,* "I haue in some part laid open . . . the doings and dealings of this world." Even if Wilson had not taken it upon himself to point out the various abuses of usury, he would not be unknown to literature. Wilson, at King's College, Cambridge, 1546-1549, came under the influence of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith in the revival of Greek. He formed a lasting friendship with Roger Ascham, author of *The Scholemaster.* And his two major works, *The Rule of Reason* and *The Arte of Rhetorique* are important as pioneer works in the stimulation of the development of English prose.

"Good professors of religion write books," said Richard de Bury, "bad ones are occupied with other things." One of the chief figures in the controversy over the oath of civil allegiance imposed upon English Catholics by the government of James I in 1606 was the archpriest George Blackwell. Blackwell, who spent his last days in the Clink in Southwark, has left a

Latin work in which he insisted that he had done nothing contrary to conscience in taking the oath. His work, *In G. Blacvellum Angliae archpresbyterum quaestio biparta* (1609) is to be found in the Henry Charles Lea Library. Another Jesuit controversialist, Robert Parsons, author of *Elizabethiae angliae* (1592) and dean of Balliol College, Oxford, was forced to resign and flee to London, where he found a protector in Lord Buckhurst.

Among the poets of the age is one, essentially a religious poet, Robert Southwell (1561-1595), who lived and died for his faith. Under the act of 1584, any native-born subject of the queen who had been ordained a Roman Catholic priest since the first year of her accession, and resided in the country more than forty days was guilty of treason and subject to the penalty of death. Southwell, who followed in the wake of Robert Parsons and Edward Campion, was hanged and quartered at Tyburn in 1595. The rich lyricism of his shorter poems, collected in *Moeonia* (1630) won the praise of Samuel Daniel and Francis Bacon.

Fountaine opened; or, The mysterie of Godliness revealed . . . (1638) was a tract by one of the most famous Puritan divines of the age, Sir Richard Sibbes. Sibbes, deprived of the lectureship and professorship at Holy Trinity, Cambridge because of his belief, became the preacher at Gray's Inn. The noted William Gouge, D.D., remarked that in spite of a stammering speech, "his judicious hearers alwaies expected some rare and excellent notion from him." Another Puritan writer was William Perkins, who Fuller said "first humbled the towering speculations of philosophers into practice and morality." One edition of his *Works* was published in 1596-7. But by far the most famous tract of the time was that by the Anglican Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1632). In a day of Elizabethan Puritanism, Hooker

pled for tolerance and moderation. He is to be appreciated for the singular calmness and dignity with which he discussed the raging questions of his time.

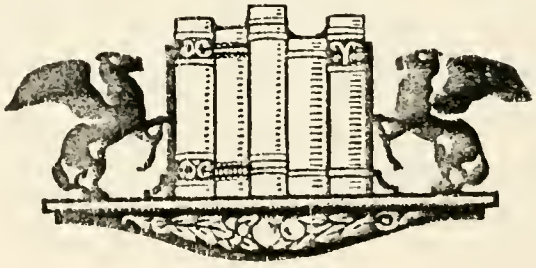
One of the most fascinating pages in the chronicle of the sixteenth century is the history of the Company of Stationers chartered by Philip and Mary in 1555. Again, the *S.T.C.* books in the Library represent the spirit of the age, and the survey of these works, a number of which are in Latin, should include mention of printer as well as of author. An original freeman of the Company and one of the first six admitted into the livery in 1561, William Norton, was the founder of the Norton tradition in printing. But William Norton was human, and fines were inflicted on him for various offenses—one for keeping his shop open on a Sunday. Bonham Norton took over his father's shop at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, and with Thomas Wright became printer to the King. Hardly less famous were Bonham's son, John Norton, jr., and William's nephew, John Norton, in the service of the Company.

In June 1601, Robert Barker, the Queen's Printer and pioneer in the use of roman type in the Bible, complained that Bonham and John Norton had set up English and Scotch printers at Dort, where they infringed on the privileges of the Queen's Printer by printing Bibles. Barker suggested that these printers, being disordered persons, might attempt to publish lewd and seditious books. The protest was hardly a disinterested one.

One of the favorite ornamental devices on the title-page of a book was the printer's name punned into a small design. John Day had as his device a figure bending over one sleeping, and the motto beneath, "Arise, for it is Day." The motif of Christopher Barker was that of a man barking a tree, "A Barker, if ye will In name, but not in skill." And Pynson,

who had a monopoly over the printing of law books, through jealousy spoke of Robert Redman as "Redman, sed verius Rudeman, quia inter mille homines rudiorem haud facile invenies."

With the two rare editions of the Geneva Bible (1581), and copies of the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, the pageant of our additions to *S.T.C.* books draws to a close. All of the items mentioned represent new titles or new editions which must be added to that invaluable catalogue. "There, in their satchels and baskets, we discovered not only the crumbs that fell from the master's table for the little dogs, but indeed the shewbread without leaven, the bread of angels . . . "



MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN 1783

"A Compendious System of Moral Philosophy. By the Rev^d. Doctor Magaw, Vice Provost. Universitatis Philadelphia. 1783." So reads the carefully penned title-page of a student's notebook which recently came to the Library, a gift from Mrs. A. J. Rogers, of Milwaukee, great-granddaughter of the student whose notes on Dr. Magaw's lectures are here preserved: Joseph Clarkson, a graduate of the College in 1782, Master of Arts in 1783. His ownership and authorship of the book are denoted on the fly-leaf by "Jos^h. Clarkson—his book—1783." The notes fill 116 pages of a blank-book, of legal-paper size, and—unlike most notebooks—are as painstakingly and beautifully written throughout as on the first pages. They reveal no evidence of interest in anything other than moral philosophy, apart from two crude but well-executed drawings on blank pages at the end. It would seem (assuming that they were his productions) that even so serious a student as Clarkson could not entirely resist the student urge to decorate his notebook with free-hand drawings; but in his case we may surely attribute this use of the blank pages to a scarcity of paper, and not to inattention in class.

After graduation Clarkson entered the ministry, and in 1787 was ordained deacon by Bishop William White at his first ordination. From 1790 until his death in 1830 he was rector of St. James' Church at Lancaster. Magaw, a graduate in the first class of the "College of Philadelphia" in 1757, became Vice Provost and Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1782, and Clarkson was therefore a pupil in the first class which he taught. Because of the methods of instruction then employed

one's sympathy goes out, retrospectively, to the students. Whatever information, whatever inspiration, Clarkson received from Magaw must have been sadly dulled in the process of recording it in the neatly written "notes," which are almost entirely in Question and Answer form.

Question. What is Moral Philosophy?

Answer. It is a science directing mankind to be wise and happy; or a practical science conducting all the human actions to happiness in a course of virtuous activity.

Q. Why is this branch of knowledge relating to Morals, called Philosophy?

A. Because it treats of the principles of duty, illustrates and enforces its various parts, upon the footing of natural reason alone.

Q. Is it proper or expedient to consider this a science distinct from revealed religion?

A. Yes, inasmuch as the study of it doth not interfere with, but is subservient to, religion. It is beneficial to see how far reason can go in tracing the line of duty; and where her power fails, wherein she coincides with revelation; it is observable too, that in the revealed system, appeals are often made to reason and natural light; besides, we are here directed with regard to sundry particulars, which, tho' countenanced by, are not the immediate objects of, revealed religion.

And yet these catechetical dictations were regarded by Magaw as a modicum of this kind of instruction. He explained to his class in the first "recitation" a praiseworthy desire—foreshadowing better methods sometime to come—to require no more than was necessary of slavish copying. This explanation, by the way, was duly recorded by Clarkson in his notes with as much care (though with some obscurity in wording) as he gave to the Questions and Answers. "In consideration of the multiplicity of studies," he wrote, "in which the youth of the upper classes in the University are engaged, we think it expedient to exempt them from the trouble of *laborious*

copying; and therefore in the present course, what relates to that part of business, is to be rendered easy, as well as profitable. Little more than the heads of arguments will be stated, and the principal distinctions and definitions noted down. This also will be conducted in what is to follow, cheifly [*sic*] in the way of question and answer; the answers generally expressed, tho' sometimes not, either because of their familiarity, or in tryal of the student's skill."

"Moral philosophy," the students were told at the outset of the course, "holds a distinguished place among the subjects of human enquiry. All other branches of knowledge, wether [*sic*] theoretic, instrumental, or practical, are just so far estimable, as they contribute and minister more or less to this highest one." Moral philosophy was a broad field, divided into the following categories:

1. Ethics, strictly taken, which regulates the internal tempers of the mind and teaches the nature of virtue and happiness.

2. The Knowledge of the Laws of Nature, with respect to mankind; of this latter there are three subdivisions:

The first, contains and illustrates the doctrine of *private rights* and *laws,* which take place in a state of natural liberty.

The second, is Oeconomicks, explaining the rights and laws, which relate to domestic life.

The third, Politics, which describes the various forms of civil government, and the rights of states, with regard to one another. This last may compose a system expressly denominated "The Law of Nations."

Thus the course invaded the fields of law, political science, and political economy, treating all topics, however, with reference mainly to the moral principles underlying them; a course in "Ethics—Theoretical and Applied" it might have been termed. Probably Clarkson had a second volume of notes, for the twenty-four recitations to which the volume that has been preserved are devoted come only as far as some of the

economic questions. The following extracts give a further glimpse into the nature of the instruction which he received.

On Happiness

Question. What is the general idea you have of happiness?

Answer. It is that internal satisfaction of the soul, which arises from the possession of good.

Q. What do you mean here by Good?

A. Whatever is agreeable to human nature, in respect of preservation, pleasure, utility and perfection.

Q. How would you define happiness, considered as a State?

A. It is *that,* wherein there is an abundance of those objects which excite agreeable sensations adapted to the powers and feelings of our nature, with an exemption from pain.

Q. Is all pain or evil incompatible with happiness?

A. No; such as is comparitively [*sic*] small, and in its nature, some way or another, subservient to a more considerable good, is, in the present state, consistent with happiness.

Q. Is not the desire of happiness somehow exceptionable, inasmuch as it is immediately connected with self-love?

A. No; the desire is perfectly right in itself, having originally proceeded from the most perfect Being: it carries with it, if well understood, the complete idea and practice of every virtue.

On Moral Obligations

Question. How do you define *moral obligation* in general?

Answer. It is a *tie,* or *necessity,* consisting in impressions made on us by some particular motions [*sic*] which determine us to act after a certain manner, in preference to any other, and do not permit us to act the opposite way. Or it may be defined, "A restriction of natural liberty," produced by competent efficacious motives.

Q. What is a State of moral obligation?

A. It is that, in which, with regard to the powers, sensibilities, and affections, that the mind is possessed of, we feel a determination to approve entirely of their due measure, harmony and balance; and in which "we are instantaneously and independently of our volition, excited to a correspondent conduct."

Q. How do you define a law more fully?

A. The will of those vested with just power of governing, declared to their subjects, requiring certain actions and forbidding others, with denunciations [*sic*] of rewards and punishments.

Q. Define equity.

A. It is the reasonable wise correction of any imperfection in the words of the law. According to Grotius it is "the correction of that, wherein the law (by reason of its universality) is deficient."

Q. Hath Equity any place with respect to the Law of Nature?

A. No; because that law determining in all cases, according to right reason, needeth no correction; but it has place sometimes in laws promulgated in words.

"Recitation the Twenty fourth," the last one covered in the notebook, entered the field of economic studies with a discussion of commodity values:

Q. In the interchanging of goods or services, must not their value, respectively, be some way estimated?

A. It must; this is an essential matter.

Q. What is the *ground* of value—and consequently of price in things?

A. Their *fitness* to yield, either of themselves, or to procure as means, some use or pleasure.

Q. Is price ever termed value?

A. Sometimes; it being one species of value.

Q. What is meant by value?

A. It has a twofold meaning, it signifies the utility of some particular object—its suitableness to yield profit or pleasure; and also the power of purchasing other goods included in the possession of that object.

Q. What do you call the first?

A. A value *in use*.

Q. And what the second?

A. A value in exchange.

Q. May not things which have the highest value in use, frequently have little or none in exchange, or have little or no price?

A. Yes; and so, vice versa.

Q. What is the *measure* of value, or price in any article of commerce or trade?

A. The Labour employed in preparing or procuring it; so, to the person who desires to dispose of, or exchange, an article, that article is worth the toil it exempts him from, and lays upon others; to the person who wishes to acquire, the article is worth just the toil necessary to the acquiring of it.

Q. Labour then is the real universal measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities or articles of commerce?

A. It is; and it must have been the first price paid for all things.

Q. But is there not still a more obvious way of estimating exchangeable value?

A. Yes; and a more frequent one, where barter ceases; by the quantity of money.

Even if pens and ink were available in the class room—it seems improbable that they were, but this is a point which we have not investigated—it seems inconceivable that these beautifully written notes could have been written there; they must have been copied, it would seem, from more hastily written notes made in the lecture room. The "cardinal virtues," according to Magaw, are Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice; and among the several "branches" of Fortitude are Diligence and Perseverance. Joseph Clarkson's later career shows that he profited well from Magaw's analyses of the qualities which constitute moral character; even in his student days he unmistakably possessed those two of these qualities—Diligence and Perseverance.

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A Whitman Treasure House. *Sculley Bradley.*

One Song, America, Before I Go *(Walt Whitman).*

Vol 10 No 2 June 1942

Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,
Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the Present only,
The Past is also stored in thee,
Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone, not of the Western continent alone,
Earth's *résumé* entire floats on thy keel O ship, is steadied by thy spars,
With thee Time voyages in trust, the antecedent nations sink or swim with thee,
With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics, wars, thou bear'st the other continents,
Theirs, theirs as much as thine, the destination-port triumphant;
Steer then with good strong hand and wary eye O helmsman, thou carriest great companions,
Venerable priestly Asia sails this day with thee,
And royal feudal Europe sails with thee.

Walt Whitman

Printed by permission, from *Leaves of Grass,* by Walt Whitman, copyright, 1924, by Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc.

THE FRIENDS HONOR WALT WHITMAN

Opening of the Walt Whitman exhibition which is described on the following pages was made the occasion for an interesting meeting of the Friends of the Library on the evening of May 8, held in the auditorium of the University Museum. Dr. John A. Stevenson, president of the Friends, presided. Mrs. Sprague talked informally and entertainingly of her Whitman collection, acquisition of which has been a loving task of many years, and of experiences and reminiscences associated with it. We are glad to be able to present here her paper, "My Whitman Collection." Dr. Bradley gave a stimulating discussion of "Whitman's Message to Our Time," which undoubtedly aroused in many a new appreciation of the poet's significance in our American literature and life. Two musical selections were rendered, presenting two of Whitman's poems set to music by Dr. Harl McDonald: "Dirge for Two Veterans," sung by the Women's Glee Club of the University, and "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" sung by the *a capella* choir. At the conclusion of the program nearly all who were present availed themselves of the opportunity for a first viewing of the exhibition.

This notable collection will remain on view in the upper galleries of the University Museum, Thirty-third and Spruce streets, until June 27, and may be seen on week-days except Mondays, from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., and on Sundays from 1 to 5 p. m.

Again we express our appreciation to Mrs. Sprague for her kindness in permitting the Library to have this opportunity to exhibit her Whitman treasures.

MY WHITMAN COLLECTION

By Harriet Sprague

Walt Whitman's concept of an ideal world was one where love and understanding prevailed among men and among nations, so it is particularly fitting that we should commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his death here in this City of Brotherly Love, and near Camden and the little Whitman House, now a shrine, where he lived and wrote during those last brave years, and where he died.

My collection, so beautifully displayed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, originated from a controversy and from a realization of my own abysmal ignorance of the work of our greatest poet. In 1913 I was spending some weeks with friends in Cambridgeshire, England. Our afternoon-tea hour was usually spent in literary discussion, when it became my self-appointed task to champion the cause of our American writers, not always favorites in England. One day Walt Whitman was mentioned and my opinion asked, my hosts stating they did not enjoy "Leaves of Grass." Although my knowledge of the poet's work consisted of having read "O Captain! My Captain!" and of familiarity with the name as part of a "Game of Authors," I assumed the doubtful authority of replying that Whitman was one of our great poets! My hosts recognized a lack of conviction and, enjoying my discomfiture, further questioned as to which parts of "Leaves of Grass" I found admirable; it was then necessary to humbly confess my ignorance.

Immediately upon my return home, I found copies of

"Leaves of Grass" and Burroughs' "Whitman. A Study." These became my daily companions for months; then I began to understand the true greatness of Whitman. My study has continued to the present time and undoubtedly will go on to the end.

There exist no poems of greater significance and timeliness than many of those found in "Leaves of Grass." Particular attention should be called to "Salut au Monde," "Passage to India," "O Star of France!" and to "Years of the Modern;" also to the wonderful "Preface" to the first edition of "Leaves of Grass," 1855, in the words of Christopher Morley "as important in American literature as the Gettysburg speech is in American history."

My study required the assembling of a Whitman reference library. This meant the writings in various editions, biographies, translations, and books about him in foreign languages, also articles and pictures from magazines and newspapers. Scarcely a day passed without adding some item of interest. Having been called a "Whitmaniac," my family later invented the word "cliptomaniac" to further define my activities.

In 1918, Mr. Thomas B. Harned, Whitman's attorney, close friend and one of his three literary executors, sent me a copy of the interesting book he had edited, "The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman," containing all Mrs. Gilchrist's letters to Whitman but only a few of his replies. Writing to acknowledge the gift, I said I could not possibly be satisfied with this one-sided correspondence, but *must* read the rest of the story. Mr. Harned replied he had been unable to obtain Whitman's letters from the Gilchrist family, the ones printed being the five of which Whitman had kept partial copies. However, he kindly sent the address of Mrs. Gilchrist's daughter, and correspondence with her resulted in adding to my collection all letters, photographs, and books Whitman had

sent Mrs. Gilchrist and her family, also letters about Whitman to Mrs. Gilchrist and her son, Herbert, from John Burroughs, William M. Rossetti, Professor Edward Dowden, John Addington Symonds, and others. Most of this material is still unpublished. Much remains to be written about the unusual friendship of our poet and this truly remarkable English woman, gifted author of several books and articles, who worked with her husband on the important first "Life of William Blake," which she brought to conclusion after his early death. Among her close friends were the Carlyles, the three Rossettis, also Tennyson, George Eliot, Samuel Palmer, and many of the great figures of the literary and art world of her day.

Then followed the ambition to companion the unique Gilchrist collection with worthy associates such as Whitman first editions and all the rare books and pamphlets connected with the Whitman saga. With the helpful encouragement and cooperation of many of Whitman's closest friends it has been my good fortune to add to the collection intimate letters, books, and manuscripts, in several cases entire collections, which have belonged to biographers and friends of the poet. Many of the books are enriched with autographs, inscriptions, and important marginal notes—each one carrying with it special memories of Whitman's own time.

One of the deepest satisfactions a collector can have is to share his treasures with others, especially those who seek first-hand information and inspiration, and it has been my privilege to have frequent assurance that this collection has helped in some measure to authenticate and carry on the Whitman message. Naturally, there have been many thrilling discoveries and experiences, also some amusing ones. Several years ago, Helen Worden, feature writer for the New York *World-Telegram,* wrote an extremely clever, readable article on my

collection, adding a personal description of the collector which concluded by saying "She has gray hair . . . is a grandmother . . . , Mrs. Sprague doesn't look in the least like a woman who would read Walt Whitman." In the next issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* Christopher Morley countered, quoting the entire personal description, then added, "If Miss Worden will tell us what a Whitman reader should look like we'll send her a copy of the latest Random House issue of Old Walt." At a tea party in New York the hostess explained to a guest, recently returned from long residence abroad, "Mrs. Sprague has a large Whitman collection;" this statement being received with a blank look and no comment, the hostess further explained, "Why, surely you know of Walt Whitman, the great naturalist, who wrote 'Blades of Grass.' "

In 1938 came an invitation from the Library of Congress to exhibit my Whitman treasures. The same part of my collection now shown in the Museum was sent to Washington. The exhibition opened there on Whitman's birthday, May 31, 1939, and was seen by an estimated million visitors during the three years. For this exhibition our great National Library issued a handsome illustrated catalogue which was generously sent to all important universities and libraries in this country and to some other countries. From the two largest Whitman collections outside the United States, one in England and one in New Zealand, comes word that the catalogues have been bound (as in many American libraries also) for permanent preservation. And information reaches us of Whitman exhibitions and lectures in New Zealand, and in our country from coast to coast. One happy result is that the exhibition and catalogue have interested collectors to make numerous gifts, particularly of American literature, to the Library of Congress.

On the opening day several reporters came from the Washington papers, among them an attractive young club editor

whose knowledge of Whitman only slightly surpassed my own in the 1913 period, so I endeavored to call attention to the more important exhibits. The published account was interesting and generally well done, excepting one startling statement concerning my interest in "Whitman's 'Life of John Burroughs, Leaves of Grass.' "

In the special "Poetry" issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* August 10, 1940, William Rose Benét contributed an important article; but one statement puzzled me—"Walt Whitman told us great truths about the human race and about America, and we pay him a great deal of lip-service because he is a national figure now. But we do not quote him in Congress or consider him in public affairs." This, I assume, should be taken figuratively, but I have enjoyed making a list of several hundred replies which would seem to disprove any idea of general indifference to the poet. Unfortunately, it will be possible to mention only a few here. First, our poet was given wide and enthusiastic consideration at the Library of Congress exhibition during the past three years. Recently, Congressman Martin J. Kennedy of New York made a report to the Congress of a visit to another splendid exhibition in the Congressional Library entitled "Faith, Courage, and Freedom." His speech mentioned several writers, manuscripts of whose poems were shown in this Exhibit. Whitman's "O Captain! My Captain!" with brief comment was given a column in the Congressional Record, was also published separately. In Senator McNary's address accepting the Republican nomination for the vice-presidency in August, 1940, he said, "What we need in times like these is more democracy, not less. In an earlier period of doubt and dismay Walt Whitman, the good, gray poet of a dynamic America, thus admonished his Country.

" 'Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,
Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the Present only,
The Past is also stored in thee.' "

And in honor of President Roosevelt's third inauguration, there was held in Washington an evening's entertainment in which many distinguished artists of stage and screen participated, Ethel Barrymore reading from Whitman's beautiful poem "By Blue Ontario's Shore."

Word comes from England of three recent Whitman broadcasts, one on the evening of March 26, the fiftieth anniversary of his death, one of musical compositions inspired by Whitman's poems, and a Whitman sketch with comment by the poet Stephen Spender, who declared Whitman to be "the greatest pioneer of all literature." From the Preface of the 1855 edition of "Leaves of Grass" we quote the prophet Whitman: "Here at last is something in the doings of men that corresponds with the *broadcast* doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation but a teeming nation of nations."

In this country radio has brought us many Whitman programs, readings, music from the poems, biographical and dramatic sketches. One drama on the life of a modern artist, the late Emil Ganso, was done entirely from lines in "Leaves of Grass," with a few word substitutions; and several weeks ago came a program "Sing a Song of Supermen" with the poets Homer and Whitman discussing the ideal hero. One of the broadcasting companies has appropriated from Whitman the title of its regular patriotic program "I Hear America Singing."

At the New York World's Fair was prominently shown the splendid big bronze statue of Whitman, by Jo Davidson, since given to the Bear Mountain-Harriman New York State Park by W. Averell Harriman and magnificently placed on a huge rough-hewn boulder with words from "The Song of the Open

Road" cut in the rock. Another Whitman statue was in the New York State Building at the Fair; and in the French Building, on the beautiful upper Library floor, were large mural transparencies depicting the history of French literature; one section was given over to American writers, "to portray bonds centuries have forged between the United States and France." Most prominent among these, was a fine likeness of Whitman and the verses of his poem "O Star of France!" Written at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, it startlingly expresses France's tragic plight today, "Nor helm, nor helmsman."

The San Francisco World's Fair showed the striking Whitman portrait by Thomas Eakins, lent by the Pennsylvania Academy, which was reproduced in color, a full page, in *Life*. Other magazines have poured forth frequent Whitman articles of all kinds. The most unusual was in the February, 1940, United States issue of *Fortune,* "The Culture of Democracy" —twelve pages filled with more than seventy pictures of every kind, colored or black and white, from the Revolutionary War painting by John Trumbull to Charley McCarthy, domestic scenes, Greta Garbo, Walt Disney's productions, Maurice Evans in Hamlet, Toscanini, the Golden Gate bridge, etc., each picture having a descriptive caption from one to six lines all chosen from Whitman poems. By way of contrast, the June 21, 1940, issue of the magazine *Friday* gave two large pages to a picture of Whitman and lines from his poem "I Hear America Singing," with scenes from the pageant as produced in Madison Square Garden by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, composition by George Kleinsinger. This performance was also given at the World's Fair, and the composition over the radio several times. The *Friends' Intelligencer,* Philadelphia weekly, at the end of 1939 published a fine article, "Walt Whitman.—The Quaker Influence in American Literature" by Howard W. Hintz.

Whitman has reached the "Hall of Fame" in New York; in 1940 he was one of the five American poets to receive the distinction of a special United States stamp; a thoroughfare on Long Island has been re-named Walt Whitman Road; in Michigan the Dearborn Inn, near the Ford plant, has several separate guest houses, reproductions of famous homes, the favorite being the Walt Whitman birthplace. My list of compositions from Whitman poems has gone beyond three hundred. One of the "Invitation to Learning" radio programs was dedicated to "Leaves of Grass," as was one of Ted Malone's "Poetry Pilgrimages." Whitman books are constantly reaching publication, all of which would seem to indicate something more than lip-service for our greatest poet, and even consideration in public affairs!

One book, soon to be published here, is "Walt Whitman: Poet of Democracy," by Hugh l'Anson Fausset, English writer. The Yale University Press announcement says of Whitman: "His poetry is one of the lasting monuments, not only of his time and not only of his country." Published in England in March, the Literary Supplement of the London *Times,* March 14, 1942, has a full page review of the book with portrait and in addition a full column editorial. I quote from the review: "No one discusses the architectural beauty of the gaunt mystery called Stonehenge. Whitman remains a colossal figure whatever discoveries we make of artistic disproportion, just as Stonehenge looms forever to fill the inquiring mind with questions."

YEARS OF THE MODERN

YEARS of the modern! years of the unperform'd!
Your horizon rises, I see it parting away for more august dramas,
I see not America only, not only Liberty's nation but other nations preparing,
I see tremendous entrances and exits, new combinations, the solidarity of races,
I see that force advancing with irresistible power on the world's stage,
(Have the old forces, the old wars, played their parts? are the acts suitable to them closed?)
I see Freedom, completely arm'd and victorious and very haughty, with Law on one side and Peace on the other,
A stupendous trio all issuing forth against the idea of caste;
What historic denouements are these we so rapidly approach?
I see men marching and countermarching by swift millions,
I see the frontiers and boundaries of the old aristocracies broken,
I see the landmarks of European kings removed,
I see this day the People beginning their landmarks, (all others give way;)
Never were such sharp questions ask'd as this day,
Never was average man, his soul, more energetic, more like a God,
Lo, how he urges and urges, leaving the masses no rest!
His daring foot is on land and sea everywhere, he colonizes the Pacific, the archipelagoes,

With the steamship, the electric telegraph, the newspaper, the wholesale engines of war,
With these and the world-spreading factories he interlinks all geography, all lands;
What whispers are these O lands, running ahead of you, passing under the seas?
Are all nations communing? is there going to be but one heart to the globe?
Is humanity forming en-masse? for lo, tyrants tremble, crowns grow dim,
The earth, restive, confronts a new era, perhaps a general divine war,
No one knows what will happen next, such portents fill the days and nights;
Years prophetical! the space ahead as I walk, as I vainly try to pierce it, is full of phantoms,
Unborn deeds, things soon to be, project their shapes around me,
This incredible rush and heat, this strange ecstatic fever of dreams O years!
Your dreams O years, how they penetrate through me! (I know not whether I sleep or wake;)
The perform'd America and Europe grow dim, retiring in shadow behind me,
The unperform'd, more gigantic than ever, advance, advance upon me.

Walt Whitman

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O STAR OF FRANCE

1870-71

O Star of France,
The brightness of thy hope and strength and fame,
Like some proud ship that led the fleet so long,
Beseems to-day a wreck driven by the gale, a mastless hulk,
And 'mid its teeming madden'd half-drown'd crowds,
Nor helm nor helmsman.

Dim smitten star,
Orb not of France alone, pale symbol of my soul, its dearest hopes,
The struggle and the daring, rage divine for liberty,
Of aspirations toward the far ideal, enthusiast's dreams of brotherhood,
Of terror to the tyrant and the priest.

Star crucified—by traitors sold,
Star panting o'er a land of death, heroic land,
Strange, passionate, mocking, frivolous land.

Miserable! yet for thy errors, vanities, sins, I will not now rebuke thee,
Thy unexampled woes and pangs have quell'd them all,
And left thee sacred.

In that amid thy many faults thou ever aimedst highly,

In that thou wouldst not really sell thyself however great the
price,
In that thou surely wakedst weeping from thy drugg'd sleep,
In that alone among thy sisters thou, giantess, didst rend the
ones that shamed thee,
In that thou couldst not, wouldst not, wear the usual chains,
This cross, thy livid face, thy pierced hands and feet,
The spear thrust in thy side.

O star! O ship of France, beat back and baffled long!
Bear up O smitten orb! O ship continue on!

Sure as the ship of all, the Earth itself,
Product of deathly fire and turbulent chaos,
Forth from its spasms of fury and its poisons,
Issuing at last in perfect power and beauty,
Onward beneath the sun following its course,
So thee O ship of France!

Finish'd the days, the clouds dispel'd,
The travail o'er, the long-sought extrication,
When lo! reborn, high o'er the European world,
(In gladness answering thence, as face afar to face, reflecting
ours Columbia,)
Again thy star O France, fair lustrous star,
In heavenly peace, clearer, more bright than ever,
Shall beam immortal.

Walt Whitman

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I HEAR AMERICA SINGING

I HEAR America singing, the varied carols I hear,
Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be blithe and strong,
The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,
The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,
The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat, the deck-hand singing on the steamboat deck,
The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, the hatter singing as he stands,
The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his way in the morning, or at noon intermission or at sundown,
The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or of the girl sewing or washing,
Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else,
The day what belongs to the day—at night the party of young fellows, robust, friendly,
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs.

Walt Whitman

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A WHITMAN TREASURE HOUSE

By Sculley Bradley

Walt Whitman died fifty years ago, on March 26, 1892, in his modest frame house at 330 (then 328) Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey. Today, the once-neglected poet is recognized by his countrymen as one of the greatest of our literary men, and the house in which he died is a shrine. In the present national crisis the message of the Poet of Democracy seems incandescent with renewed vitality: his unquenchable faith in the beauty and indestructibility of the American vision of Life, which sustained his songs through the trials of the Civil War, strengthens our own hopes in the dark hours of our century.

The Library of the University of Pennsylvania welcomes this opportunity to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the poet's death by exhibiting the Whitman Collection of Mrs. Frank Julian Sprague of New York City. This is one of the truly notable collections in the country, rich in every department of Whitman materials, but especially in its first editions of *Leaves of Grass*. It is fitting that this should be so. *Leaves of Grass* is the man, Whitman. As he wrote it,

> Camerado, this is no book,
> Who touches this touches a man.

Yet for the scholar or collector it is difficult to know what is meant by a reference to *Leaves of Grass*: the book was so many different things at various times, growing, from 1855 to 1892, from ninety-five pages to four hundred and twenty-two pages, constantly revised through fourteen principal editions, some of which, like that of 1856, are almost impossible to procure.

Here, in Mrs. Sprague's collection, we have them all, and can study the evolution of the art and the meaning of Whitman's work. And we have, besides, many "special" editions of the *Leaves,* such as those of which the poet printed but a few for private circulation, from older plates, but often with new intercalations. Besides, we find all of the English editions, and every edition of Whitman's prose, and every important "collected edition" or "selected edition" of his verse and prose, down to the present year. Indeed, there exist nowhere else in one place more complete resources for textual scholarship on the subject of Walt Whitman than in this collection of Mrs. Sprague.

Among the many "association" items the Gilchrist group is perhaps most striking. This is a collection of autographed Whitman editions, manuscripts and letters reminiscent of the poet's association with his "dearest woman friend," Mrs. Anne Gilchrist. It includes two fine oil paintings of the poet by Herbert Gilchrist. Other "association" items include a large collection of books about Whitman's friends and his relations with them—Lincoln, Burroughs, W. M. Rossetti, Ingersoll, O'Connor and many others are included in this large category. There are nearly a score of unpublished photographs and sketches of Whitman and a number of fine engravings and woodcuts. The letters to and from Whitman include a number which have never been published. Among the important manuscripts are documents recording arrangements with publishers and records of sales.

Other important items in Mrs. Sprague's collection, significant as they are, must be briefly summarized. There are eighty-five books specifically about Whitman, studies and biographies, including every important volume in all languages. There is every volume of prose and poetry published or authorized by Whitman, independently of *Leaves of Grass* and

Specimen Days, and there are some spurious, pirated or unauthorized volumes as well. There are many periodicals containing fugitive contributions of Walt Whitman. Illustrative of the world-wide influence and currency of Whitman's work is the large number of volumes of translations—French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Greek, Russian, and Japanese.

Mrs. Sprague, unlike many collectors, has been guided, in making this collection over a period of twenty-five years, by an abiding love of the poet's works, by a discriminating sense of what would shed light upon his personality and his meaning, and by the cultural value of her collection.

Mrs. Sprague has kindly contributed the following summary notes concerning a number of the more significant and rare items in her collection:

(1) Of particular importance is the Whitman-Gilchrist collection, which includes all Whitman letters (most of them unpublished) to Mrs. Gilchrist, photographs, books; also letters, postal cards, books, etc., sent to the Gilchrist family. Whitman's rough first draft of the poem "Going Somewhere" in memory of Anne Gilchrist; Herbert Gilchrist's MS notebook recording conversations of his mother and Whitman in Philadelphia, 1876-1877; letters about Whitman from John Burroughs, Professor Dowden, John Addington Symonds to Mrs. Gilchrist and her son, Herbert; copy of the *Radical,* Boston, May 1870, containing a remarkable article on Whitman by Anne Gilchrist.

(2) Early Whitman writings are shown in magazines 1841-1867. Those before the publication of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855 are credited to *Walter* Whitman. *Voices from the Press,* New York, 1850 contains Whitman's "Tomb Blossoms," also the first biographical article ever written about the poet.

(3) One copy of the rare first issue of *Leaves of Grass* and two copies of the second issue (with notices added), all 1855. The important editions of Whitman's writings follow, including the "death-bed" issue of *Leaves of Grass,* Philadelphia, David McKay, 1891-1892. Only one other copy of this issue is known to have been autographed by Whitman.

(4) Six items of great importance concern the suppression of the James B. Osgood, 1881-1882, Boston, edition of *Leaves of Grass,* including much William D. O'Connor autograph material condemning the suppression. In 1882 this edition was published as the first Philadelphia edition by Rees Welsh & Co. (also shown).

(5) *The Good Gray Poet, A Vindication,* by Wm. Douglas O'Connor, is here in its rare original pamphlet form, New York 1866. "Walt Whitman and his Drum Taps" in *The Galaxy,* Dec. 1, 1866, one of the earliest appreciations of Whitman by John Burroughs, his personal copy.

(6) *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person,* John Burroughs' first book and the first book about Whitman, New York 1867, first and second issues. The earlier one, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's copy, has his book plate. Also three of the second, enlarged edition, 1871 (blue, green, and brown cloth). The latter was John Burroughs' own copy with his autograph on title page; marginal notes throughout are by Burroughs as dictated to Dr. Clara Barrus.

(7) *The Fight of a Book for the World* by Wm. Sloane Kennedy, regular first edition, 1926; also, the first of seven copies specially bound, with a two-page autograph letter from Whitman to Kennedy about Emerson—both are inscribed to Mrs. Sprague.

(8) There are many important autograph letters from biographers and close friends of Whitman, including a letter from Mr. Thomas B. Harned to Mrs. Sprague, estimating the value

of the contributions of various biographers of Whitman.

(9) The Saunders items are interesting because of his great contribution to the Whitman record.

(10) The Walt Whitman-McKay-Rees Welsh autograph correspondence and publishing-house accounts are of first importance, and particular attention should be called to the foreign editions.

(11) Copy of the U. S. Congress Whitman Pension bill, reported February 1, 1887, then withdrawn.

From the point of view of the scholar this collection is a treasure house. In spite of the great amount of writing that has been done concerning Whitman and his work, there has been all too little careful and professional scholarship devoted to the effort. It is amazing, for example, to realize that no truly definitive and historical text of *Leaves of Grass* has yet been prepared, although Professor Holloway's "Inclusive Edition," based upon the 1891-2 *Leaves,* is quite satisfactory for the general reader. For the scholar it will be necessary to have, ultimately, a variorum text in which is shown the history of the development of each Whitman poem individually in the succession of nine primary texts published under his own supervision. This edition will require reference to the many editions of *Leaves of Grass,* and there is nowhere else in any one collection such an unbroken sequence of these as Mrs. Sprague has assembled. No doubt her collection will ultimately simplify one of the most difficult and urgent tasks to be performed by American scholarship. There are still a great many biographical questions to be clarified in connection with the poet, and much of Mrs. Sprague's manuscript material bears directly upon such questions.

Another important task of scholarship will be the preparation of a concordance of Whitman's poetry, and this again will require recourse to all the primary editions in order to

establish the variety and range of his vocabulary and to assist the inquirer to locate passages in his voluminous works by means of key words. Indeed the research yet to be done upon the subject of Whitman is so vast and so compelling, that it should continue to be a major concern of investigation in the universities. This suggests the hope that Mrs. Sprague's collection may ultimately be made available to the scholars of a university qualified to investigate its riches.

There can be no doubt of the lasting importance of Walt Whitman as an interpreter of America. This importance has been emphasized in recent years, when Democracy and the sanctity of the individual human being have been so ruthlessly attacked. Three new editions of his work have been called forth in the last two years, and four biographical studies within the last five years. The reasons are apparent to his readers, and even more cogent in the minds of us who have used his writings in our university courses. The University of Pennsylvania has, I believe, the distinction of being the first university at which a graduate seminar, totally devoted to Walt Whitman, has been offered. In the undergraduate school also an intensive course devoted to *Leaves of Grass* has been taught on numerous occasions during the last ten years. It is interesting to observe, in the reactions of these many students, the fact that Walt Whitman still speaks with the significance and immediacy of one alive today and that our students derived from his message a renewed faith in human life and in the democratic way of life.

ONE SONG, AMERICA, BEFORE I GO

One song, America, before I go,
I'd sing, o'er all the rest, with trumpet sound,
For thee—the Future.

I'd sow a seed for thee of endless Nationality;
I'd fashion thy Ensemble, including Body and Soul;
I'd show, away ahead, the real Union, and how it may be accomplish'd.

(The paths to the House I seek to make,
But leave to those to come, the House itself.)

Belief I sing—and Preparation;
As Life and Nature are not great with reference to the Present only,
But greater still from what is to come,
Out of that formula for Thee I sing.

Walt Whitman

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The UNIVERSITY *of* PENNSYLVANIA

LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Issued four times a year by and for the Friends of the Library of the University

C. Seymour Thompson — Editor

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The House of Democracy:

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Vol 10 No 3 — October 1942

"For It Was Founded Upon A Rock"

Enemies have thought that the House of Democracy is built upon the sand; the sand of waste, of inefficiency, of weakness; of self-seeking love of ease; of cowardice. They have thought that they could beat upon this house, and it would fall. Relentlessly, savagely, they are beating upon it, determined that it shall fall.

But the democracy which has made America—the democracy America has made, though we must not forget our co-builders—was founded upon a rock. Weaknesses have developed and imperfections have become apparent; but because it was built upon a rock, it will fall not.

This democracy is our heritage and our trust. We are proud of our "American tradition;" but how lightly we often employ that word, tradition, relating it to things most trivial. A tradition is "a body of beliefs and usages handed down from generation to generation." Our American tradition is democracy. It has been handed down to us through many generations—through many centuries. By us it will be handed on. Democracy today is our heritage; democracy for tomorrow is our trust.

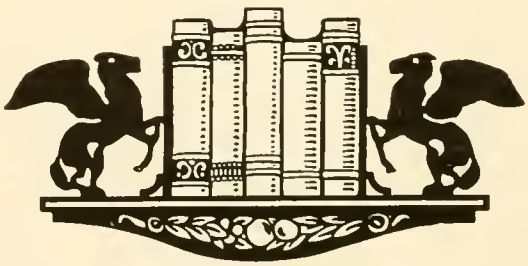
THE HOUSE OF DEMOCRACY

How the foundation was laid for the House of Democracy in which we live is illustrated by an exhibition which will be on display at the Library from November 1 to December 31. For a very large part of this, as is explained more fully below, we are under obligation to Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, who recently arranged there a notable exhibition under the caption "The American Tradition: Books and Manuscripts Illustrating the Development of the Democratic Principle," and has kindly permitted us to draw heavily upon his work in arranging our own exhibition.

We hope that many of the Friends of the Library will visit us between the dates mentioned, to examine this representation of some of the principal stones in the foundation of the House. We hope, too, that they will come with inquiring minds, turned not only to the past but to the present and the future. What of the structure of this House as it stands today? How have we built upon our rock foundation? And what of the superstructure which must be built when peace has been restored in the world? Unbounded faith that democracy will survive the present crisis can not blind us to the fact that some parts of the House must be rebuilt, and that it must be enlarged. Can we build as well as did those who built the foundation?

No graphic display can answer these questions, but they can be answered, in part, by thoughtful reading, and for this reason we supplement our description of the exhibition with some suggestions concerning books which may be profitably read. In these we have confined ourselves to a small portion of the entire field. For full understanding of the problems democracy now faces, one should have intimate acquaintance

with the whole course of America's political, social, and economic history; with its relations with other nations; with the causes and consequences of the first world war; with the intricate developments of the years after that war, and the causes of the failure of that peace which was no peace. Few, however, whose school and college years are behind them, have time for the reading and the arduous study which all this would require. We therefore confine our suggestions to books which at least throw some light on these questions: How well, and under what difficulties, is our government working, under the Constitution whose sesquicentennial we so recently celebrated? What is the real significance of the democracy we have cherished? Wherein has it fallen short of its ideals? Wherein lies its strength today? What must be its future course, that we may repair the ravages wrought by its enemies, and hand on to other generations an even better tradition than we inherited; a better, more secure, more widely accepted democracy?



I. THE FOUNDATION

Dr. Wroth has kindly made available for our exhibition photostat reproductions from the books and manuscripts shown by him at the John Carter Brown Library, with copies of the descriptive labels on which he had set forth the significance of the various items. With his generous permission we have availed ourselves largely of his work: by following, with some departures, the general outline of his exhibition; by displaying many of his photostat reproductions to represent books not available here; and, particularly, by quoting copiously from his descriptive labels. On the cards displayed in our cases, and in the comments in this description of the exhibition, our indebtedness for these quotations from Dr. Wroth's notes is signified by his initials, "L.C.W."

Acknowledgment is gratefully made also to the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Haverford College Library, the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Library of Chemistry, the Biddle Law Library, and the University Museum, for their kindness in lending some of the books.

Representative Government

"The first laws of the earliest English settlement in what is now the United States" were compiled by William Strachey, secretary of the colony in Virginia, and were printed in London in 1612: *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, &c.* (L.C.W.) Reprinted in Force's "Tracts and other Papers."

"No man doth more ill then hee that is ignorant. For the avoiding of which, and to take away the plea of I did not know - - - - *it hath appeared most necessary - - - - not onely to exemplifie the old Lawes of the Colony - - - - but - - - - to prescribe and draw new."*

"The first elected legislative assembly of the New World" convened at Jamestown, Va., in 1619. Its *Proceedings* (printed in *Colonial Records of Virginia* in 1874) "set the pattern for the political character of the British-American colonies, determining their status as self-governing commonwealths." (L.C.W.)

One of the laws passed by this Assembly imposed what might be called a personal property tax: "Against excesse in apparell that every man be cessed in the churche for all publique contributions, if he be unmarried according to his owne apparrell, if he be married, according to his owne and his wives, or either of their apparell."

In the Mayflower Compact of 1620 was the seed of the later growth by which a nation came into being, forming a "body politick" immeasurably far beyond the vision of the signers of the agreement. Shown in facsimile in *Bradford's History "of Plimoth Plantation,"* Boston, 1901.

"We - - - - doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick - - - - and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

"The earliest of American written constitutions" was the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," adopted in 1639 by an assembly of planters from several Connecticut towns. (L.C.W.) Shown as first printed in Trumbull's *Complete History of Connecticut,* Hartford, 1797. Lent by Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Where a people are gathered together the word of God requireth that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God."

"The germ of later constitutional development, that is, a union of separate states governed by representatives from each of them," is found in the *Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England,* formed in 1643 primarily for defense against the Indians. (L.C.W.) Printed in Hazard's *Historical Collections.*

Because of being widely dispersed "upon the Sea Coasts and Rivers," encompassed by "people of severall Nations and strang languages," the preamble says, "Wee therefore doe conceive it our bounden Dutye without delay to enter into a present Consotiation amongst our selves for mutuall help and strength in all our future concernements."

William Penn's "Scheme for the general Government of the Northward Plantations" seemed to Charles Davenant "contriv'd with very good Judgment; upon which Account, he thought it not unseasonable, to offer the Heads of it to Publick Consideration" in his *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England,* London, 1698.

Penn's plan was criticized in 1701 by an anonymous Virginian, who "made a significant advance" beyond previous plans of union in *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations.* "Penn had suggested that two commissioners from each colony form the governing body of the union. His Virginian critic made the counter-proposal that the membership of the governing body be based upon the principle of representation in proportion to population." (L.C.W.) Lent by Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Union for common security" was again urged in 1722 by Daniel Coxe, proprietor of a large area in the Carolinas, in his *A Description of the English Province of Carolana.* (L.C.W.) Lent by University Museum.

"Several of these [colonial] Governments, - - - - *if their* Assistance *is demanded or implor'd by any of their distress'd* Neighbours, *attack'd by* Enemies, *perhaps in the very Heart of their* Settlements, - - - - *purposely elude their just and reasonable* Expectations; *and by an inactive* Stupidity *or* Indolence, *seem insensible of their particular and most deplorable* Circumstances, *as well as regardless of the* General *or* Common Danger, *because they feel not the* immediate Effects *of it; Not considering their own* Security *is precarious, since what happens to one* Colony *to* Day, *may reach another to* Morrow. *A* Wise Man *will not stand with his* Arms *folded, when his* Neighbours House *is on* Fire."

Archibald Kennedy, of New York, also proposed a defensive union, in 1751, in his *Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians.* "Appended to this tract is a letter from Benjamin Franklin elaborating Kennedy's suggestion." (L.C.W.) Lent by Library Company of Philadelphia.

Franklin's Plan of Union is represented by a photostat from the John Carter Brown Library's manuscript *Proceedings of the Congress at Albany* of 1754. The *Autobiography* tells how he "projected and drew" the plan on his way to Albany, and, after showing it "to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, - - - - ventur'd to lay it before the Congress." There it was accepted, but when submitted to the colonial assemblies and to the Board of Trade "Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was judg'd to have too much of the *democratic.*"

"Consideration of Franklin's plan became involved in some places, as in Rhode Island, in local political issues. In that colony Stephen Hopkins, a delegate to the Albany Congress, fought in defense of the plan. In *A True Representation of the Plan Formed at Albany* appears what seems to be the

earliest publication, in book or pamphlet, of Franklin's plan of union." (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

Early Interest In Education

Belief in the importance of education was part of the heritage of those who settled in America. Plans were made in 1619 by the Virginia Company, looking toward establishment of a college at Henrico, Va., but after an Indian massacre in 1623 the project was abandoned. The scant records of the undertaking, printed in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London,* contain an account of a gift made in 1620 toward formation of a library for the college, but the later fate of the project gives to this unknown donor a half-legendary character, as of a vision appearing suddenly from the darkness and as suddenly vanishing:

"After the Actes of the former Courte were read a straunger stept in presentinge a Mapp of Sr Walter Rawlighes conteyninge a Descripcon of Guiana, and wth the same fower great books as the guifte of one unto the Company that desyred his name might not be made knowne, wherof one booke was a treatise of Stt Augustine, of the Citty of God translated into English the other three greate Volumes wer the works of Mr Perkins newlie corrected and amended,[1] wch books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia there to remayne in safftie to the use of the Collegiates hereafter, and not suffered att any time to be sent abroade, or used in the meane while, ffor wch so worthy a guifte my Lord of Southampton desyred the ptie that presented them to returne deserved thanks from himselfe and the rest of the Company to him that had soe kindely bestowed them."

The importance acquired by Harvard in its first seven years is illustrated by the description of it in *New Englands First*

[1] *The works of that famous and worthie Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins - - - - newly corrected according to his owne copies.* A collection of his works was first published in 1597; a more complete edition in three volumes was first issued in 1608.

Fruits, published in London in 1643. Lent by Library Company of Philadelphia.

The description of the "Colledge" begins: "The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Common Lectures) Exercises, and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging."

"A picturesque statement of the American attitude towards education, the attitude of a people remembering a heritage of learning but so absorbed in the struggle against the forces of nature as to make its maintenance difficult," is found in the Massachusetts act of 1647 for establishment of schools. "The declaration of purpose, that 'Learning may not be buried in the graves of our fore-fathers,' might be taken as the motto of the school and college systems of colonial America." (L.C.W.) This act is represented by a photostat from the Henry E. Huntington Library's unique copy of *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusets,* Cambridge, 1648.

"Although William and Mary College did not actually begin operations until 1693, much consideration had previously been given to the question of higher education in Virginia." (L.C.W.) In *The Lawes of Virginia,* printed in London in 1662, is a law enacted that year making "Provision for a Colledge" intended "for the advance of Learning, Education of Youth, Supply of the Ministry, and Promotion of Piety." (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"A difference in educational objectives" was advocated by Franklin and by William Smith, who in 1755 became our first provost. "Their conception of education as a practical tool in

a pioneer country came into operation in the new colleges established in Philadelphia and New York, now known as the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University." (L.C.W.)

Smith's views were outlined in 1753 in his *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* (shown in the second edition, "corrected," of 1762). "Mirania," the preface says, "is one of the provinces of the New World, first settled by our countrymen, the English, about a century ago. In what degree of latitude it lies is of no importance." The college was a supposititious institution described by Smith to give concrete form to his concept of the ideal college.

Franklin's *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania,* printed by Franklin but without the famous "Printed by B. Franklin" imprint, needs no introduction. To quote briefly:

> "It would be well if they (the 'Scholars') could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental.* Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended."

Vocational and utilitarian training, however, did not displace, but supplemented, the older classical tradition at Pennsylvania. At the annual Commencement exercises the conventional demands of the curriculum were represented by Latin orations and by "disputations" on abstract questions of "Ethicks" or metaphysics. The Odes and the Dialogues, which must have refreshingly offset duller parts of the exercises, reflected rather a general interest in political issues, and a patriotism which was soon to shake off the conventional and center about a new allegiance. They are represented by those delivered at the Commencements of 1762 and 1770, which reveal a change in sentiment in eight years:

An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode on the Accession of His present gracious Majesty, George III. Performed at the public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762. The Dialogue was written by Jacob Duché, the ode by Francis Hopkinson.

> "Bright ascending in the Skies
> See BRITANNIA's Glory rise!
> Cease your Sorrows, Cease your Fears!
> Night recedes and Day appears!
> Another GEORGE majestic fills the Throne,
> And glad BRITANNIA calls him all her own."

An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and two Odes, Performed at the Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, June 5th, 1770.

> "Alas! my friend;
> When DISCORD rears her banner, and the State
> Totters beneath her sway; when FREEDOM mourns,
> And her fair sister COMMERCE, by her side,
> Sits bound in fetters; when untwisted lies
> The golden cord of mutual Trust and Love
> That should unite the *Parent and the Child—
> Say, can the sympathizing Muse forget
> To share her Country's Pangs?"

* "The Mother Country and the Colonies." It seems strange that this footnote was thought necessary.

When the charter of 1753 was replaced, in 1755, by the "Additional Charter" of the "College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania," the newspapers "promptly reported that a 'College in the most extensive sense of the word is erected in this city and added to that collection of Schools formerly called the Academy.' " (Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania,* page 43.) This charter is represented by a manuscript draft.

Self-Education

Education did not depend entirely upon the young colleges and the crude schools. The proprietary and subscription libraries which sprang up in all parts of the country after establishment of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731 were instruments for what we now call adult education. "These libraries," Franklin says in his *Autobiography,* "have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges." The beginning of this movement is represented by the following items:

(1) A photostat reproduction of the first two pages of a manuscript catalog, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, headed "Books belonging to the Library Company of Philad[a]. The List taken from the Minutes near the latt[r] End of June 1740." On these pages are the titles of the books "sent for to England" in 1732, the Library Company's first purchase.

(2) *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall.* 1764.

(3) *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Locke,* London, 1720, opened at "Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman." Franklin was strongly influenced by this and by other works of Locke.

(4) Two books, widely read in the eighteenth-century libraries, which greatly influenced the gradual trend of thought toward liberty and, eventually, toward independence. These are Pufendorf's *Of the Law of Nature and Nations* and

Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* ("which, being found in his Closet, cost him his Life, in the Reign of King Charles II," says the 1764 Catalogue). Both of these works were among those which constituted the Library Company's first purchase.

The Taxation Controversy

"The Sugar Act of 1764 was the first of a series of laws through which Parliament levied taxes upon the colonies for the sake of revenue. The right of Parliament to impose such taxes was immediately questioned by James Otis in *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved,* published in Boston in 1764. The sovereignty of Parliament over the internal affairs of the colonies had been disputed for generations. In Otis's book the grounds of the American position were carefully organized and boldly affirmed. When the Stamp Act was passed in 1765, an intelligent opposition to it, based upon profound political principles, had thus already come into being." (L.C.W.) Lent by American Philosophical Society in a London edition of 1765.

"Taxation without representation was fully discussed by Daniel Dulany in his *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies,* and the theory of 'virtual representation' was demolished to the satisfaction of thinking men." The first edition, Annapolis, 1765, was "the earliest of the eight English and American editions of 1765 and 1766." (L.C.W.) Lent by Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Rights of Colonies Examined, by Stephen Hopkins of Providence, was "another important pamphlet brought out in 1765 in opposition to the taxation policies of Parliament. A reply to it, *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax,* by Martin

Howard of Newport, led to a pamphlet war called the Halifax Gentleman controversy." (L.C.W.) Lent by Library Company of Philadelphia.

A timid protest against the Stamp Act was made by the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados, in compliance with a resolution of the legislature of the island. In a letter to their agent in London, which was published, disapproving references were made to "the violent spirit raised in the North-American colonies against this act" and to their "rebellious opposition given to authority." John Dickinson's ire was aroused by the charge of rebellious conduct, and his scorn by the "unmanly timidity" of the Barbados committee. Both ire and scorn he poured forth, under the pseudonym "a North-American," in *An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados. Occasioned by a late letter from them to their Agent in London.* (Philadelphia, 1766.) In this he expressed regret over the acts of "those few of the lower rank, who disturbed us with two or three mobs in some of the provinces," but stoutly defended the right to oppose the Stamp Act as an invasion upon those *"rights essential to happiness"* which "are born with us; exist with us; and cannot be taken from us by any human power, without taking our lives." His parting shot was: "I wish you every blessing that men can enjoy; and as a foundation and security of all the rest, I wish you a true love of liberty."

The Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain, Founded on the Liberty of the Colonies, and the Mischiefs attending the Taxing them by Act of Parliament Demonstrated (Philadelphia, 1768), is an anonymous pamphlet, evidently by an Englishman. The opening sentences carry a lesson which nations have been slow to learn:

"When an empire has arrived at such a height, as to become the envy of its neighbours, a decline is to be guarded against. To give stability

to a state requires greater abilities, as well as more virtue, than to extend its dominions."

Another defense of the American side of the controversy over taxation, likewise of English authorship, was presented in the pamphlet *The Case of Great-Britain and America, addressed to the King, and both Houses of Parliament* (printed in London, reprinted in Philadelphia in 1769). The writer recommended "that we should retain to the British Parliament, every power that is not inconsistent with our justice and their liberty," but that the Americans should be permitted to tax themselves, and "that a law should be passed, immediately, repealing every act, that taxes the Colonies."

The celebrated Stamp Act of 1765, as printed in *The Statutes at Large* in 1771, covers thirteen large pages, closely set: "An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp Duties, and other Duties, in the *British* Colonies and Plantations in *America,* towards further defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same - - - - ."

The first page of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 31, 1765, was printed with a heavy black border. This is explained on page three by a paragraph, likewise heavily set off in black, announcing that "the most UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACT that ever these Colonies could have imagined, to wit, The STAMP ACT, is feared to be obligatory upon us, after the First of November ensuing (the FATAL TOMORROW)." With this issue we show also the issue of April 3, 1766, in which are the Resolutions adopted by the "Stamp Act Congress" held in New York in October, 1765. One of these resolutions declares:

"It is inseparably essential to the Freedom of a People, and the undoubted Right of Englishmen, that no Tax be imposed on them, but with their own Consent, given personally, or by their Representatives."

Repeal of the Stamp Act is represented by a photostat copy, from the John Carter Brown Library, of "a manuscript showing the document in the form of the bill in which it was presented to the House of Commons." (L.C.W.) This bill was adopted, in considerably abridged form, and the Stamp Act was gracefully rescinded because its continuance "would be attended with many Inconveniences, and may be productive of Consequences greatly detrimental to the Commercial Interests of these Kingdoms."

Moving Toward Independence

"Repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by imposition of the Townshend Acts of 1767, which laid duties on many articles imported by the colonies. One consequence of this legislation was the adoption of non-importation agreements by the merchants and leading men of the several colonies. Among the small number of these agreements to appear in print was one printed in Annapolis by Anne Catharine Green in 1769." (L.C.W.) This is represented by a photostat copy from the John Carter Brown Library.

"An agreement which went much further was adopted by the Continental Congress of 1774, under the caption *The Association, &c.* Earlier agreements were made individually by the separate colonies, and were concerned with non-importation alone. The 'Association' was a pact made by twelve colonies, in Congress assembled, to observe 'non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation' as the best measures to redress their common grievances." (L.C.W.) *The Association* is included in *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress,* Philadelphia, 1774, with a List of Grievances, a Bill of Rights, an Address to the People of Great-Britain, and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British American Colonies.

Another address to the people of England is shown in an eight-page pamphlet, drawn by Richard Henry Lee and signed by John Hancock by order of the Congress of 1775: *The Twelve United Colonies, by their Delegates in Congress, to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain.*[2]

"Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren! By these, and by every other appellation, that may designate the ties, which bind US to each other, we entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt, to prevent their dissolution."

"Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment, to men whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury which from that period you will want; THE LUXURY OF BEING FREE."

Pacifist sentiment, too, frequently found expression. Under the pseudonym "A. W. Farmer," Samuel Seabury published several pamphlets protesting against the "non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption measures" and the policies of the Continental Congress in general. When Alexander Hamilton published "A full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress," Seabury replied in *The Congress Canvassed: or, An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates, at their Grand Convention, - - - - Addressed, to the Merchants of New-York.* (1774.)

"It is our duty to make some proposals of accomodation with our parent country: And they ought to be reasonable ones—such as might be made with safety on our part, and accepted with dignity on hers."

"If we are determined to proceed as we have done, continually rising in our demands and increasing our opposition, I dread to think of the consequence. The authority of Great-Britain over the colonies must cease; or the force of arms must finally decide the dispute. Many

[2] Georgia did not send delegates to this Congress, although at "a general meeting of the inhabitants of Georgia" resolutions were adopted, expressing willingness to concur in the effort to maintain essential rights.

Americans are hardy enough to suppose, that, in such a contest, we should come off victorious: But horrid indeed would be the consequence of our success! We should presently turn our arms on one another; province against province, and destruction and carnage would dessolate the land - - - - .

"But it is much more probable, that the power of the British arms would prevail: And then, after the most dreadful scenes of violence and slaughter,—CONFISCATIONS and EXECUTIONS must close the HORRID TRAGEDY."

Similar pleas were made in *A Friendly Address to All reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions: in which the necessary Consequences of Violently opposing the King's Troops, and of a General Non-Importation are Fairly Stated.* (New-York, 1774.) This has been attributed by some to Rev. Myles Cooper, and by others to Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

"Whether the British Parliament has been right or wrong in its late proceedings, towards the Colonies; our behaviour has been such as every government must and will think intolerable."

"*Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects!* let me entreat you to rouse up at last from your slumber, and to open your eyes to the danger that surrounds you—the danger of your being hurried into a state of rebellion before you are aware of it, and of suffering all that resentment which a mighty nation can discharge upon a defenceless people. Whether *Great-Britain* did right or not, in imposing the duty on tea, and whether we pay it or not, are matters of trifling consequence: But whether we shall bring down upon our own heads the full weight of her vengeance, and undergo all the horrors of a civil war, or not, are matters of dreadful importance to *us*."

As late as 1776 Richard Price, in England, strove for some way whereby peaceful relations with the colonies might be restored. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* (London, 1776; reprinted, Philadelphia,

1776) is a careful study of all the principal issues involved, in which England is frankly charged with political injustice and economic folly.

"This is a war undertaken not only against the principles of our own Constitution, but on purpose to destroy other similar Constitutions in *America;* and to substitute in their room a military force. It is, therefore, a gross and flagrant violation of the Constitution."

"With respect to the Colonists; it would be folly to pretend they are faultless. They were running fast into our vices. But this quarrel gives them a salutary check - - - - . I hope therefore, our brethren in *America* will forgive their enemies. It is certain that *they know not what they are doing.*"

Events had gone too far, however, for appeasement on either side of the controversy to be effective. "Between the close of the French and Indian war and the beginning of the Revolution many effective pamphlets were published by American writers, affirming the claims of the colonists." (L.C.W.) Among these was John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies,* Philadelphia, 1768. In this is an argument for the system of "checks and balances" which became a fundamental feature of the American government:

"A PERPETUAL *jealousy*, respecting liberty, is absolutely requisite in all free-states. The very texture of their constitution, in *mixt* governments, demands it. For the *cautions* with which power is *distributed* among the several orders, *imply,* that *each* has that share which is proper for the general welfare, and therefore that any further acquisition must be pernicious."

Another important contribution was made by Thomas Jefferson in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America. Set forth in some Resolutions Intended for the Inspection of the present Delegates of the People of Virginia now in Convention.* Williamsburg, 1774. Lent by Library Company of Philadelphia.

"Public opinion was urged further in the direction of independence by the forceful presentation of the American case in Thomas Paine's tract *Common Sense,* published in January, 1776, of which 120,000 copies were sold in the next three months." (L.C.W.) Lent by Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The closing words of Paine's "Introduction" were not written for his day alone.

"The Cause of America is in a great Measure the Cause of all Mankind. Many Circumstances have, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the Principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural Rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Censure, is the Author."

The Declaration

The Declaration of Independence is represented by a facsimile of Jefferson's draft of the document, and by a photostat reproduction, from the John Carter Brown Library, of a broadside copy printed by Solomon Southwick of Newport. "It was in a form similar to this that the contents of the instrument became familiar to people throughout the colonies." (L.C.W.)

By this document thirteen colonies renounced allegiance to the mother country, and the War for Independence followed. Between that country and the nation which has grown from the thirteen colonies succeeding generations have established a new relationship. As sister nations we fight together in what has been well termed a War of Interdependence—which, in the words of Thomas Paine, is "the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of Feeling."

The long struggle for freedom of worship, or "liberty of conscience," is represented first by a photostat reproduction, from the John Carter Brown Library, of *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution,* in which Roger Williams, in 1644, "set forth his sturdily maintained notions of the separateness of church and state, the sovereignty of the people, and religious toleration, as a natural right which had place in the government of Rhode Island from its founding in 1636." (L.C.W.)

"The toleration ideas of Roger Williams and others in Rhode Island were embodied in the charter granted the colony by Charles II in 1663." The "Grant for Liberty of Conscience" included in the charter "was framed 'that a most flourishing civil state, may stand, and best be maintained - - - - with a full liberty in religious concernments.' " (L.C.W.) The charter is represented by a photostat reproduction of it, from the John Carter Brown Library, as printed in Newport in 1730 by James, brother of Benjamin Franklin.

Another landmark is William Penn's *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience Once more Briefly Debated & Defended, by the Authority of Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity: Which may serve the Place of a General Reply to such late Discourses, as have Oppos'd a Tolleration,* published in 1670.

"By the time when Pennsylvania was established the idea of religious liberty was becoming generally accepted. In *The Laws of the Province of Pennsilvania,* printed in Philadelphia in 1714, appears 'The Law Concerning Liberty of Conscience,' passed in 1705." (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"One of the strongest elements in the liberalism of Thomas Jefferson was his passionately held belief that 'our civil rights

have no dependence on our religious opinions.' It was his wish that his epitaph should perpetuate his memory as the author of 'The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,' in addition to his achievements as 'Author of the Declaration of Independence' and 'Father of the University of Virginia.' The text of that celebrated statute of 1786 was given wide circulation through its publication as an appendix in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia.*" (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"The continuous struggle of the American people for freedom of the press began with the trial of Thomas Maule at Salem, Mass., in 1695, and ended, so far as concession of the general principle by government is concerned, with repeal of the alien and sedition laws in 1802. In his *Truth Held Forth,* printed in New York in 1695, Maule attacked the Massachusetts authorities and was brought to trial by them after his book had been burned by the hangman. His accusers failed to procure a conviction by the Salem jury. Maule's own account of his trial is found in the work bearing the felicitous punning title *New-England Pesecutors Mauled With their Own Weapons.*" (L.C.W.) Lent by Haverford College Library.

"The best remembered of American incidents in the struggle for freedom of the press occurred in 1735, when the Council of the Colony of New York brought to trial John Peter Zenger, a printer, on a charge of libel. As a result 'the liberty of the press was secure from assault and the people became equipped with the most powerful weapon - - - - the right of freely criticizing the conduct of public men.' (L.C.W.) The case of Zenger is represented by two items: *The Case and Tryal of John Peter Zenger, of New-York, Printer, Who was lately tryed and acquitted for Printing and Publishing a Libel against the Government. With the Pleadings and Arguments on both Sides.* London, 1750; and a pamphlet, published in

London in 1738, lent by the Biddle Law Library of the University, *Remarks on the Trial of John-Peter Zenger, Printer of the New-York Weekly Journal, Who was lately Try'd and Acquitted for Printing and Publishing Two Libels against the Government of that Province.*

"The most notable protests against the alien and sedition acts of 1798, with their restriction upon freedom of speech, were the 'Virginia Resolutions,' written by James Madison, and the 'Kentucky Resolutions,' written by Thomas Jefferson. The Kentucky Resolutions were defended in *A Letter from George Nicholas, of Kentucky, to his Friend, in Virginia,* printed at Lexington, Ky., in 1798. This was one of many pamphlets published for or against the ideas advanced in the resolutions of the two legislatures." (L.C.W.) Lent by American Philosophical Society.

"Of the ten individuals fined and imprisoned under the clause in the Sedition Act directed against libeling the government or the president, the most notable was Thomas Cooper. His *Political Essays, Originally Inserted in the Northumberland Gazette,* printed at Northumberland, Pa., in 1799 (Lent by American Philosophical Society) brought about his conviction, which is recorded in *An Account of the Trial of Thomas Cooper, of Northumberland,* printed in Philadelphia in 1800." (L.C.W.) Lent by Edgar Fahs Smith Library.

"Another of those brought to trial was Benjamin Franklin Bache. *Truth Will Out! The Foul Charges of the Tories Against the Editor of the Aurora Repelled* - - - -. Philadelphia, 1798, is his outcry against his arrest. These cases were regarded by the defendants as tests of the declaration in the Federal Bill of Rights that Congress should make no law 'abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.' " (L.C.W.) Lent by American Philosophical Society.

Another forerunner of the Bill of Rights was *A Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec* in which the Congress of 1774 invited their "Friends and Fellow-Subjects" of that province to send delegates to the Congress summoned to meet in 1775, "to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty." The argument accompanying this invitation asserts that there are certain rights, "without which a people cannot be free and happy;" rights which "*you* are entitled to, and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise." Five of these rights are mentioned: (1) "the people having a share in their own government, by their representatives, chosen by themselves;" (2) "trial by jury;" (3) "*habeas corpus,*" or "liberty of the person;" (4) "holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services;" (5) "freedom of the press."

The Constitution

"Realizing that a greater degree of unity must be brought about than was provided by the existing gentleman's agreement, the Continental Congress in 1777 drew together the separate colonies into a confederation," and adopted the *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union Between the States.* "Congress was sitting at York, Pa., when this 'firm league of friendship' was formed," and the "Articles" were taken to Lancaster for printing. (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"The characteristic American procedure for framing and adopting new constitutions came into being when, in 1780, a special convention, chosen for that purpose alone, met at Cambridge and drew up *A Constitution or Frame of Government, Agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, in Convention* - - - - . This was then

submitted for ratification to the electorate of the state, 'in town meetings assembled.' " (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"In order to avoid popular pressure upon the deliberations of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787" (summoned "in order to form a more perfect union" after the Confederation had been found insufficient) "their sessions were held behind closed doors. It was not until 1840 that a full account of the proceedings was published, in the form of 'Reports of Debates in the Federal Convention,' printed in volumes two and three of the *Papers of James Madison.*" These reports "provide one of the great illustrations of the democratic principle at work through full expression of opinion, untrammelled discussion, and the composition of differences through mutual forbearance." (L.C.W.) Lent by American Philosophical Society.

The Constitution that was framed by this convention is shown in a photostat reproduction from a copy in the John Carter Brown Library, in "the simple and economical form in which it was submitted to the states for ratification after that procedure had been approved by Congress." (L.C.W.)

"Most influential among the many political writings designed to ensure the ratification of the Constitution was the group of essays by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, first published separately in newspapers under the pseudonym 'Publius' after conclusion of the Convention. These essays were first published in book form in New York, in 1788, under the title *The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, Written in Favour of the New Constitution.*" (L.C.W.)

"Sharp differences of opinion manifested themselves in the state conventions on the subject of the ratification of the Constitution. The *Proceedings and Debates of the Conven-*

tion of North-Carolina, Edenton, 1789, is a record of discussions and deliberations typical of those that occurred everywhere before the new plan of government became effective through its ratification by nine of the states." (L.C.W.) Photostat from John Carter Brown Library.

"The Constitution was not perfected until Congress yielded to the demands of many who felt that it did not sufficiently emphasize certain broad general rights of the people. Twelve amendments were proposed which, after reduction to ten, were ratified by the states in 1791 and appended to the Constitution. Because of their fundamental character this group of amendments came to be known as the 'Bill of Rights.' The document in its original form of twelve amendments is shown in a photostat, from the John Carter Brown Library, of a broadside, issued by the government of Rhode Island to be laid before the freemen of the state in their town meetings." (L.C.W.)

II. OUR DEMOCRACY TESTED

By adoption of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights the foundation of the House was completed. Later building upon that foundation cannot be illustrated in the exhibition, but four items have been added to represent the Testing of Democracy in times of crisis, whereby the stability of our structure has been demonstrated in the past, and must now, again, be demonstrated.

National Crisis

"Testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure." *(The Gettysburg Address.)*

International Crisis

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations." *(President Wilson's War Message, 1917.)*

The Crisis Passed ?

"To promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security - - - - the High Contracting Parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

Supreme Crisis

"Certain common principles - - - - on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world." *(The Atlantic Charter.)*

"We therefore fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope and peace throughout the world." *(President Roosevelt, October 12, 1942.)*

III. THE STRUCTURE

Putting aside the historic past, with what can we illustrate the present state of the House of Democracy? Selection is not easy, for it necessitates omission of many excellent books. Still, we are not undertaking to name "the best" books. In the exhibition described on the preceding pages we are showing a few of the many books and documents which contributed to the foundation. We here place on exhibition, as it were, a few of the many good contributions to study of the structure and the superstructure.

In *The Living Constitution: A Consideration of the Realities and Legends of our Fundamental Law,* by Howard Lee McBain (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939; copyright 1927) we have a concise, well-balanced study of fundamental features of our government under the Constitution, as it has developed in actual practice: the federal system which was indispensable for formation of the "more perfect union;" the interlocking functions of the three branches of the national government; their relation to the state governments and to citizens. Frequent comparisons with the British system do not break the unity of the book as a study of the American, and they contribute to better understanding of it by giving greater breadth of view.

The Constitution is here made to seem, indeed, a living thing, not a mere body of abstract ideas of only remote or occasional interest. Some of its provisions, to be sure, may be called legends: the clause, for example, under which the President is supposedly limited to executive power, whereas he is necessarily "leader in the legislative program of Congress," and executive power is vested by Congress "nearly everywhere except in the President." Such "legends," however, have neither destroyed the realities of the Constitution

nor impaired their effectiveness. Quoting a remark of Mr. Justice Holmes, that "a word is the skin of a living thought," Professor McBain says: "As applied to a living constitution the expression is peculiarly apt; for living skin is elastic, expansile, and is constantly being renewed." His book provides a good basis for more detailed study of the constant renewal of our governmental life under the Constitution, as it is constantly confronted by problems which the framers of "our fundamental law" could not foresee.

In an "Editor's Foreword" to an excellent series of small volumes on "American Government in Action," Phillips Bradley says that the chief contribution made by De Tocqueville in his classic *Democracy in America* was "that he saw government in action as a focus of the desires and purposes of the people in all their daily manifestations," and he defines the purpose of this series, to catch as many as possible of the "invisible radiations" of the political spectrum "which filter into every aspect of the hopes, desires, and purposes of a people bent on making the ideals and practices of democracy effective." But for democracy to be effective, it is essential that these "hopes, desires, and purposes" be both worthy and intelligent, based, as Mr. Bradley says, upon "further analyses, more searching appraisals, and more informed judgments" than have been customary, and it is essential that government be efficient in its reflection and execution of these desires.

This necessity is emphasized by Charles A. Beard in one of the books of this series, *Public Policy and the General Welfare* (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1941). "The declaration of popular will," he says, "even if matured, is only the beginning of democratic government." In the complexities of modern life government must deal with many issues not conventionally embraced in the term political science; issues relating to health, "human relations," and "the general welfare

broadly and realistically conceived." These issues must be met and handled "competently, efficiently," if the government is to endure. How convincingly this points to the need of government based upon sound research and administered by people trained for the task is brought out in the latter portions of the book, after careful examination of the gradual extension of federal power under the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution; the safeguarding of personal liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights; and the conditions which have forced the time-honored doctrine of economic laissez faire to give ground. To determine and to maintain "the proper balance of authority and liberty required by the security and welfare of American society" is "the supreme task of statesmanship and the central theme of political science."

Earlier chapters of the book discuss the origin, rise, nature, and needs of democracy. They give convincing proof of the importance of education as a means of ensuring efficient government. They demonstrate, too, Professor Beard's correctness when he says that education, alone, is not enough. This must be supplemented by "that elusive but potent force known as the humane spirit." It is necessary for us, he says, "to look with clear eyes upon the welter before us, to curb our little hates and loves, to forget our trivial slogans and party distempers, to clarify and purify our hearts and minds - - - - ."

How largely the functioning of our government involves the division of power and responsibility among federal, state, and local units, is apparent on every page of another book in this series, *The New Centralization: A Study of Intergovernmental Relationships in the United States,* by George C. S. Benson (Farrar and Rinehart, 1941). It is the old issue of "centralization versus decentralization," the problem most difficult for the framers of the Constitution to solve, which is inseparable from our system. With judicial care and im-

partiality Professor Benson analyzes the advantages and the disadvantages of centralization and of decentralization, keeping always in mind, and before the reader, the distinction between political and administrative decentralization. It seems that no one could read this book without realizing the importance of following the author in a middle course in appraising the merits of opposing views, and the importance of maintaining an alert mind for unbiased study.

On many points Professor Benson expresses his own opinions, but they are never dogmatic, and never run to the generalizations which so easily befog an issue. "To achieve efficiency plus safety—which seems to be the common goal—readjustments on all levels of government are essential." Seeking to suggest paths which may lead to these readjustments, he advances "a program for American decentralization," based upon certain broad principles, among which is his belief that "it is on the state level that reform is most necessary and most significant." His comment on this point is of interest in connection with the research and the activities now being carried on at the University of Pennsylvania by the Institute of Local and State Government. "We hear much of federal activity these days," he says, "but the bulk of governmental problems remains within the state sphere. It seems wise to repeat that if the states are not efficient, American government considered as a system, is not efficient—or, for that matter, secure. - - - - The future of the states is, in a very practical sense, the future of the federal system."

One who does not possess the skill must wonder at the rapidity with which a few pencil strokes, applied by one who does, can be made to portray a man's face. The art is closely paralleled by the art with which Stuart Chase, in *The Road We Are Traveling: 1914-1942* (The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1942) pictures the economic changes which have come to America, as to the rest of the world, since

the year 1913. The first portion of his book, "Pattern of Change," Mr. Chase aptly describes as "a fast movie of a quarter of a century of economic history." To only a slightly less extent the remaining chapters are also a fast-moving picture of the causes and effects of the basic trends, more closely examined, and of the goals America must set for itself in post-war readjustment.

A few brief paragraphs at the outset are enough for a vivid presentation of the "Why Change?" attitude of American thought in that prosperous, contented year 1913. "Bonds are sound, stocks are climbing and 6 per cent is as orthodox as the Ten Commandments. - - - - It is an orderly universe. - - - - We expect everything to go right on. - - - - Why should it not go right on? - - - - Government, as everybody knows, is not a respectable business anyway. - - - - The rightful place of government is to act as umpire, and keep out of competition with honest businessmen. - - - - All seems to be well with the world" in 1913. Fittingly enough the last chapter but one, with equal rapidity, considers and demolishes the demand which may be expected to come from many people when the war has ended, "in favor of scrapping everything" which it has forced upon our economy, "and going back to the good old days." This, says Mr. Chase, "will not make sense, but it may have to be faced." That it will not make sense seems indisputable, in the light of all that moves so rapidly before us on Mr. Chase's screen. "The pattern has been taking shape for a quarter of a century. For better or for worse, it is the curve which we must now ride out." "The challenge to the democracies is not so much a military one, in the long run, as it is a social one. Can the democracies provide the goods which the people demand in this revolutionary age, and continue to be democracies? It will be useless to beat Hitler in war, and not provide the goods."

Mr. Chase's book is the first in a series of six which he is preparing for the Twentieth Century Fund, to be published

under the general title "When the War Ends." Later volumes will discuss various phases of the task which will confront America when the time comes "to demobilize our war economy and return to peacetime pursuits." This first volume reminds us of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's dictum: "To leave the reader wanting more is art; to give him as much as he can hold is stupid." In this sense, *The Road We Are Traveling* is art.

IV. THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

A striking commentary upon the road the world has been traveling, and a thought which should be kept in mind in post-war reconstruction, are expressed by President Henry M. Wriston, of Brown University, in his *Prepare For Peace!* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941). "It should be observed," he says, "that war succeeds the peace; it does not 'destroy' it. Peace has already broken down before war ensues. Reason has failed, justice has been abandoned, morals have disintegrated before there is a resort to force. War is not the cause of the failure of peace; it is the consequence of that failure."

Then he continues, with even more striking applicability to our post-war attitude: "Like winter following summer, war brings decay and destruction, but does not kill the seeds of the 'new order' which is the ensuing peace. - - - - As war succeeds but does not 'destroy' the old peace, it germinates but does not mature the new peace. Winter cannot do the work of spring and summer. The 'new order' which emerges at the end of the war will necessarily be tender, green, and immature."

The book is a study of many phases of the problems entering into the conduct of war and, particularly, of the problems involved in negotiating a peace; of the reasons why peace treaties have so often been ineffective and short-lived; of America's part in previous international affairs and in the

Treaty of Versailles; and of the part America may have in the endeavor to frame the next peace upon a firmer foundation. In making that peace choice will have to be made between perpetuation of "the principle of exclusive states, each seeking to be as nearly independent in every respect as possible," and "organization of the world into states which frankly recognize their interdependence, surrendering the goal of autarchy—economic, racial, and moral."

Of similar purpose in general is *The Problems of Lasting Peace,* by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson (Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, 1942). As President Wriston's study leads up to a final chapter on "The Theory of Peace," so Mr. Hoover and Mr. Gibson study "the forces which make for war and peace" and conclude with a study of "The Foundations of Lasting Peace," without presenting any definite plan. "Discussion, debate, and understanding by our people prior to ending of the war are necessary," they say, "if adequate plans are to be drawn. And the American delegates to the peace table should not only be armed with the principles of peace which America believes workable, but they should have an understanding people behind them."

That the best if not the only hope of securing an enduring peace lies in some form of international federation, is an idea which is rapidly winning favor, and several well-considered plans for such a federation have been published, in which complete or partial constitutions have been drafted for its organization and administration. Probably the best-known of these is the widely publicized *Union Now: The Proposal For Inter-democracy Federal Union,* by Clarence K. Streit (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940). This is a "shorter version" of a first edition, published in 1938. Mr. Streit's proposal, as stated in the publishers' note, is that ten of the leading democracies "unite to form a common government

for their people—organized on the broad lines of the American Constitution;" the agreement "would leave the door open to all other democracies that would guarantee their citizens the Union's minimum Bill of Rights." Another plan is submitted by William C. Brewer in his *Permanent Peace* (Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia, 1940), in which he proposes a "World Alliance" which "would guarantee to the people of all nations their inalienable right to establish and maintain their chosen form of government."

We cannot undertake to analyze or describe any of these proposals, or the arguments which accompany them. All of them are important as contributions to study of the best methods of achieving the desired end, an enduring peace. One of these books may be of additional interest to American readers because of its British authorship: *Peace Aims and the New Order,* by R. W. G. Mackay (Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1941). This presents a comprehensive study of "the case for European federation," including discussion of various kinds of federation which may be considered; an outline of organization for a federation to be called "The United States of Europe;" and a constitution. "At the end of this war," says the Introduction, "another opportunity will be given to the nations to create an effective form of international government. - - - - After the chaos of the last two decades, shall the mistakes of 1919 be repeated?"

"What chance is there," Mr. Mackay asks, "of the United States of America joining some kind of World Federation?" Without criticism—unless the mere statement of the facts be criticism—he says: "At the present time, the United States is not a belligerent, but a neutral. In the last war, when she was a belligerent, she was unwilling to enter the international organisation created at the end of the war, and created largely as a result of President Wilson's determination. - - - - What hope is there that she would come in today? - - - - If America

can be brought into real participation in the machinery of world government, so much the better."

No one can now foresee to what extent the framing of a new peace and a "new order" for the world may be influenced, when the time for it comes, by any of the specific plans which are now being advanced. It is generally recognized, however, that it is not too early to begin (in the words of President Wriston's title) to "prepare for peace." With the purpose, undoubtedly, of assisting that preparation, many books are now being written on the general theme democracy.

Of these books all that are worth consideration recognize that there is much in our democracy today which must be improved, but concerning its future they display varying degrees of optimism, tapering off into pessimistic doubt. A permanent union of the states could never have been formed by men who doubted the desirability of such union, or by men who thought it impossible; it required a steadfast faith that all difficulties could and would be overcome. Today we face a similar challenge. Democracy cannot be preserved by those who question its value, or by debating whether it can survive, and whether some new system must not be devised to cure our ills; it can be preserved only by those who have the same constant faith which first made possible the American union—confidence that democratic government and democratic life can be maintained and made a better, richer, more abundant life.

What Is Democracy? is a small volume composed of five lectures by Charles E. Merriam, delivered by him at the University of Chicago in 1940-'41 on the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. (University of Chicago Press, 1941.) In two of the lectures we have an analysis of the cardinal ideals of democracy—equality and liberty—which are "not exclusive but complementary"—and

of the protection and further development which may be given them in a democratic state. A lecture on "Misunderstandings" refutes the principal charges most frequently made against democracy: that it is inefficient, incapable of prompt and effective decision and action in emergencies, and unable to reconcile the conflicting interests of the various groups of which our society is composed. The refutation of the charge that democracy is "responsible for the decadence of modern youth" is particularly encouraging. "On the basis of forty years of intimate observation and experience in peace and war," Professor Merriam says, "I repudiate the timid talk about the weakness of the oncoming flaming youth. - - - - The American youth of our day—not merely an aristocratic few, but the group taken as a whole—is the best trained, physically and mentally, the most alert and resourceful that ever came forth in any era." (Parenthetically, we may say that this opinion is substantiated in a letter which a member of the staff of the Library recently received from a professor in the School of Medicine, who for many months has been in service with the armed forces in a far-distant part of the world. "You may be assured on one point," he wrote, "and that is that the younger generation hasn't gone soft after all, in spite of all we have been hearing in recent years. They can take it. Moreover, they are not only taking it but handing it back in grand style.")

"America," says Professor Merriam, "will take its place and assume its share of responsibility in shaping and maintaining a jural order of the world, in lifting human relations to new levels of order and justice." Throughout the book his optimism and confidence are stressed no more strongly than his perception of the difficulties and dangers which face us and which lie ahead. But his confidence remains the dominant note, and he does not fail to give good "reason of the hope that is in him" in expressing it; when he says, for instance: "For my part, I hold that America will come triumphant through this, the greatest ordeal of modern times—triumphant not merely

in a material or in a military sense, but triumphant in the higher and finer values where life really dwells in its fulness."

The Defense of Freedom is a collection of four brief addresses by Edmund Ezra Day, President of Cornell University, on "the present crisis in American democracy." (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1941.) Again we have full recognition of present weaknesses and dangers, coupled with confidence that these will be surmounted. Democracy is more than "a system of government;" it is "a form of human relationship in which men and women of every class and creed live together in peace." It is chiefly, therefore, a thing of the spirit, and that which is most needed in its defense is a more spiritual preparedness. The addresses are not moralizing in tone, but if they had been sermons, instead of addresses, their text might have been found in *Ephesians* 6: 11-17. To *stand* —with courage, right thinking, truth and honor—"above all, taking the shield of faith," and with "the sword of the spirit;" —that exhortation has not lost its importance, and this is still the great need which, in effect, is stressed by President Day in these addresses; we are sure he would say that in democracy's crisis these qualities constitute the best "preparation of the gospel of peace." Few people, we think, can read these addresses without gaining a strengthened hope, a stronger faith, and, at the same time, a better realization of their individual responsibility in defense of our freedom.

So, too, we are told by Professor Rappard, in his *The Crisis of Democracy* (University of Chicago Press, 1938) that "the future of democracy lies primarily with the democratic peoples themselves." This volume consists of six public lectures delivered in 1938 at the University of Chicago, on the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, by William E. Rappard, professor at the University of Geneva and Director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva. With only occasional reference to America, the book is a study of

the ups and downs of democracy in Europe and in Great Britain; of the rapid rise of the post-war dictators to seemingly irresistible power; and of the struggle, then not yet arrived at the supreme crisis, between the democratic and the totalitarian systems. It embodies the author's full knowledge of European jealousies and intrigues and of all that has brought about the present conflict, and gives us a view of the present state of the House of Democracy which has most significant bearing upon the problems of erecting the superstructure.

From these lectures a good case might, perhaps, be drawn for a somewhat pessimistic view. In the Introduction the question is asked: "Must we conclude," from the recent course of history and from the doubts and fears that are frequently heard, "that the triumph of modern democracy is to be as short-lived as it is recent?" Certainly there is cause for sober thought in the swift collapse of most of the European democracies which sprang up, almost overnight, after the last war; in the rise of the dictatorships; and in the internal weaknesses which even the old and well-established democracies have developed. At many points it seems that Professor Rappard finds himself forced into a gloomy or foreboding view of the prospects. The future of democracy, he says, depends first on "the maintenance of peace;" but the war which was near at hand when he spoke these words is now upon us, a world conflict. It depends, further, on ability of the democracies to be "both efficient and truly responsive to the will of the people, while protecting and not endangering the individual liberty" of their citizens; and this, obviously, is not an easy task.

And yet the foreboding of possible disaster is lessened by many facts which are clearly brought out. Of Poland, Professor Rappard says: "That such a nation, in whose historical tradition there was no trace of Western political liberty, should have been led, in 1921, to adopt a republican democratic constitution after the French pattern, is assuredly more sur-

prising than the difficulties since encountered in operating it." The same may be said of the other democracies which rose and fell so suddenly. "Until the World War these countries had all been subjected to the more or less autocratic rule of more or less absolute monarchs, political cliques, or individual leaders, who had never shown any true respect for the liberty and equality of the individual subject." As to the dictators, they would be able to find little assurance in the analysis of the foundations upon which their power rests. On the whole, the question whether "the triumph of modern democracy is to be as short-lived as it is recent" is not pessimism; it is a challenge. The entire volume is a challenge. Foreboding may be replaced by hope and confidence, if we may base our expectations on the assumption that the democracies will remain true to their ideals. That they will do this is Professor Rappard's hope; and he closes his book with these words: "Let this, my final word, be a message of hope addressed by a citizen of the oldest, to his friends of the greatest democracy in the world."

We, in America, can answer to Professor Rappard: "We *will* 'remain worthy of the high destiny to which [our] forefathers have dedicated [us] by their efforts and by their sacrifices.' " And if his concluding hope was mingled with foreboding or doubt we can assure him: "The future of democracy lies *safely* with the democratic peoples themselves."

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C. Seymour Thompson — Editor

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THE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

By Anne Bezanson, Director

The Industrial Research Department thinks of its work as falling in four main areas: (1) Studies of the functioning of the labor market; (2) Studies of wages and wage adjustment; (3) Economic studies within selected industries; (4) Historical studies of prices in Philadelphia and of the development of enterprise.

By digressing to explain the way these areas were chosen, one can most easily make clear some of the objectives of the Department without giving a detailed story of its growth. The Industrial Research Department still bears some of the marks of its origin. Not only was it started amid the post-war problems of World War I but its early program was shaped by them. At that time University men were returning to their institutions, fresh from their experience of participating in the war effort. The most general feeling of those social scientists who had shared in the frantic search for data engendered by the last war was a resolve that never again should the country be forced to meet an emergency with as little information, and as inadequate interpretation of what little there was, as they faced when they were called to help in turning over an economy from peace to war.

It was clear that if better knowledge of the resources and functioning of our economy were to be provided, some specialized research centers must be set up by social scientists. All were agreed upon the need for facilities for specialized research. There was less agreement on the location of such agencies. Many, perhaps the majority, believed that specialized agencies could not be set up within the framework of universities. As a result there was a notable development, in the United States

and in Great Britain, of research institutions unconnected with universities, like the National Bureau of Economic Research (1920), the Brookings Institute (1916), and almost all the international-relations agencies in the United States. In England the situation was similar. There the tendency was to rely for particular types of specialized study upon technical institutes. Even in fields closely related to history and political science, agencies like the Institute of Historical Research and the School of Oriental Studies were set up outside the teaching centers.

Men like Joseph Willits at Pennsylvania, Joseph Davis at Stanford, and many others, felt that a way should be found to provide for research at the training centers also. They felt that a failure to participate in research would weaken graduate schools, impair training, and lessen the contribution to science. On the other hand, it was clear that agencies could be developed at the teaching centers only if the area of work could be kept defined. It would be absurd to assume that every University must set up research that paralleled all its teaching fields in the social sciences.

At Pennsylvania we decided to find our area of work in the industrial and social problems of our own community. Many factors had to be considered in defining research even within a near-by area. Most important of the challenges faced at the start were: (1) Could a contribution to the improvement of basic data be made? (2) Could anything effective be contributed to graduate training in research? (3) Could findings have general value or would they have only local validity?

The present area of labor market study grew out of an attempt to find ways of describing the changes in the industry and activity of the Philadelphia area. These changes, reflected partially in employment trends in occupational distribution, in mobility, in placement of and in demand for labor, could only be shown after methods of recording were standardized.

Thus, much of the work of the early years was spent in classifying occupations, measuring labor mobility and employment opportunity, and finding ways of defining the demand for labor. By 1929, the formulae and procedures for measuring the demand for labor, as developed in the studies of the Philadelphia labor market, were adopted in some other centers (notably New York and California). We, meantime, had to meet a complete change in conditions brought about by recession and a steady decrease in employment.

Beginning in 1929, the Department started a series of surveys to inform the community agencies of the extent of their unemployment problem. These annual censuses of a ten per cent sample of inhabitants of the area, giving the composition of the labor supply and the incidence of unemployment upon individuals and households, were continued for a decade, until the data of the Social Security Board became available. They were supplemented by studies of labor supply, of occupational experience of displaced workers, of the organization for placement of employees, and of the interrelationships in the functioning of the labor market in the case of particular occupations, industries, and special groups.

Obviously the research served to keep the agencies of the community informed of the extent of their emergency problem. It did more. It contributed to the definition of concepts and the improvement of statistical measures. It served as an experimental station for testing schedules to be used by public agencies before large-scale investigations were undertaken. Nor were its values confined to the Philadelphia area. The Department has made a contribution to the work of national agencies concerned with national labor problems. The experience of staff members was used by the President's Committee on Economic Security in preparing social security legislation, by the Social Security Board in planning labor market statistics and research, and by the Census of Population in

preparing its 1940 census. A member of our staff is now with the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget to plan for the coordination and improvement of all governmental statistics of employment, unemployment, and labor supply.

In the area of studies of wage adjustment, our research is blacked out for the duration. The whole area developed naturally out of an intensive study of the economic factors within one industry, important in Philadelphia but growing rapidly elsewhere. It started from a student's thesis on the machinery installed and in use in the hosiery industry. The study gave for the first time an over-all picture of the growth and capacity of the industry throughout the country. Impressed by the character and value of the work, the Department offered the student a chance to continue research in the industry over a period of years, studying the relationship between wages, costs, prices, production, profits, and capacity. Others in the research group were making similar studies within other industries. The hosiery study, at a stage in its development, branched off, as others did not, to include problems of industrial relations, notably wage adjustment. Later, as the supervisor became recognized as an authority on problems of the industry, he was asked to serve as Impartial Chairman. He accepted only after both employer and union groups assured him that they wanted their policies to rest upon a basis of study of the economic forces affecting the industry, a point of view that meant supplementing the normal methods of collective bargaining with a research program. In this way, research and training, directed at narrowing the area of dispute in controversial issues, developed and was continued until the emergency took the supervisor, first to Detroit and, later, to the War Labor Board. The assistant, too, and others trained earlier, were called into emergency labor adjustment work.

The research in the labor market area, and especially that in wage adjustment, had to deal with immediate questions, often controversial ones. Other industrial studies were not diverted to current issues. They aimed rather to improve the basic record of the industry, to understand its business organization, and to make intensive topical studies within its setting. Behind such research is the concept that industry studies are a necessary complement to wider investigations that seek understanding of a whole phase of the economy. Such investigations depend for their significance upon the quality of the data and the realism of the hypothesis used in terms of particular industrial situations.

One product of industry studies is a knowledge of the way economic processes work in a particular situation. The Department has worked with numerous branches of the textile industry in one part of its studies, first getting acquainted with the processes, the market structure, and the personnel of the industry. Starting in one branch of the wool industry, with a study of production and equipment trends in worsted sales yarn, research progressed to studies of capacity and output of both spinning and weaving machinery. Later, textiles other than wool were included in such studies as vertical organization in the textile industries, the structure of prices in textiles, and inventory policies.

Because of the experience gained in such studies, the staff not only kept informed on changes in production, prices, stock, wages, and other statistical materials, but was called upon to advise government agencies and the industry on ways of improving and interpreting their collections. Since the war, new demands for members of the staff have come from the war agencies.

Studies in the bituminous coal industry differed from those in textiles, because it was unnecessary to collect our own data. A large number of federal, state, and private agencies collect

and publish information on prices, costs, production, distribution, employee earnings, income, and other aspects of the industry. It was the need for interpretation that led the Industrial Research Department to continue research which it had started as long ago as 1923.

Before 1935 the study of costs, differentials, and production trends had indicated that effective research in coal must deal with important producing fields competing in the same market. The main emphasis in the coal studies has been upon wages and factors affecting wages, as indicated by studies of wage rates and working time, and of the economic consequences of the seven-hour day in the bituminous coal industry. The recent emphasis upon pricing problems in the industry led the staff to undertake, in cooperation with the Price Conference of the National Bureau of Economic Research, an appraisal of price-control in the industry as established under the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937—a study which has some importance for the war effort.

It will be seen that the continuance of research within each industry served to give a common setting for clarifying a number of relationships, each of which affected others. There was more emphasis on wages than can be given by discussing, as I am, areas of work rather than topics. In fact many of the best and most well-known contributions in phases of wages are not being considered. Just at this time one is inclined not to give enough emphasis to intensive wage studies, because what has been done looks so hopelessly inadequate in terms of the wartime wage problem. No one has studied the behavior of wages with the thoroughness that the National Bureau of Economic Research studied the behavior of prices. No one has studied the structure of wages as that of prices has been, nor do we know the differentials between occupations, industries, and regions in any detail adequate for the present emergency. In most other areas, one can say that the im-

provement of data by governmental and private agencies during the past twenty years eased the task of converting to war. In the case of wages our information is still most inadequate.

It is not necessary to comment in detail upon our fourth area—historical studies. The Department has published a series of studies giving a continuous record of commodity prices in Philadelphia from about the time of the settlement of Penn's colony to the Civil War, except for the period of the Revolutionary War. The period from the Civil War to modern times is being analyzed at the present time. There is also in process, based on our previous collection, a study of the behavior of the prices of cotton-textile products over the last hundred years. Other current studies deal with the history of individual business enterprises, important in the development of Philadelphia.

The part the Department has played in helping to refine and improve data, in interpretation and in concrete findings, can be made fairly clear. It is a limited contribution. We have not been able to extend opportunities for research to many members of the University faculty. Our work depended upon the ability to build one study upon another, a goal which requires continuity of personnel. We have been able to contribute notably to research training. In fact, the Department has trained more than a score of persons who now hold important administrative posts in public service, including a number of war agencies. The training was made possible by the appointment of research assistantships which gave a chance to participate in the planning and conduct of a larger study than any individual could undertake alone. Even before the war, the value of the training gained in participating in certain types of problems was well enough known to cause frequent changes among research and statistical assistants.

Perhaps I should not close without telling something of the impact of the war on our work. (1) We have lost the whole

personnel of the wage adjustment section and all our young men assistants. (2) Our major staff, with one exception only, are giving one or more days to emergency consultant work. (3) We have paused in all studies to bring together any findings of our long-time research that would be immediately useful. Among those printed already is a bulletin on war labor supply in Philadelphia, and one on the outlook for wool for military and consumer use. Several others of current interest are in process. (4) In the belief that the work of university research departments will be needed as much in the future as in the past, we are maintaining, on a reduced scale, as much of our long-time program as can be done without keeping personnel necessary to the war effort.

THE MYSTERIOUS TELEGRAM

By Charles C. Mish

What with freshmen constantly clamoring for Skeat's "entomological" dictionary, and upperclassmen constantly mistaking the *Cumulative Book Index* for a "Webster," the daily routine at the Reference Desk is not exactly uneventful, but it is academic enough to make the arrival of a telegram an event. The slow grinding of the mills of the graduate student and researcher rarely demands action so incisive, one might almost say so undignified, as that implied by the use of Western Union. It was with some excitement, then, that we received and unfolded one of the unfamiliar yellow slips the other afternoon, at the same time preparing ourselves, or trying to, for anything.

We were not disappointed, although the wire seemed innocent enough at first glance. The message read "Please wire collect earliest possible date I can get microfilm of commentary on Synprosium from Basel 1516 Opera of Marsilio Ficino." Down in the left-hand corner of the blank in mysterious isolation appeared the number 1561. None of us had ever heard of Hohoka, Missouri, the town from which the telegram was sent, and none of us had a very clear idea as to just what the "Commentary on Synprosium" was, but we at least recognized the name of Ficino, and went ahead from there. A check of our card catalogue disclosed that we had a copy of an edition of Ficino's works, printed at Basel as specified, but dated 1561. Since 1561 was a simple transposition of 1516 and since 1561 appeared attached to the message, it took no great flash of wit to suspect that the telegram contained an error, and failure to find any mention of a 1516 edition in Brunet or any of the

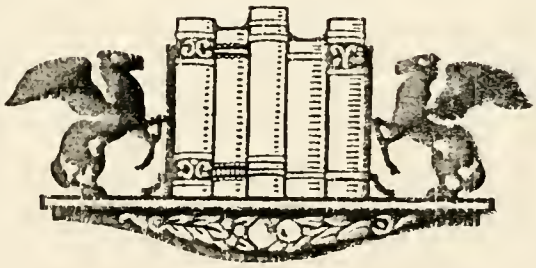
printed catalogues of European libraries confirmed this suspicion.

This decided, we next hauled the 1561 edition of Ficino—two thick folios—from the shelf where it had stood untouched, lo, these many years, and looked through it. It conveniently contained a table of contents of a sort, but an examination failed to reveal any commentary on any Synprosium. Being unable to sneak up on the problem obliquely, we now had to face the Synprosium issue squarely and decide just what that strange word meant. The most logical assumption seemed to be that it was a personal name, and in the hope that pinning down its owner would help us, we set about combing catalogues for a name like Synprosius, not forgetting, in view of the 1516-1561 business, to check all names reasonably close to this,—Simposius, for instance. No luck! Chevalier and the British Museum catalogue indeed yielded a Symposius who rejoiced under the full name of Caelius Firmianus Symposius, but since his works, even though in Latin, seemed too light to have provoked comment by the philosophical Ficino, we gave him up.

The next point of attack was from the Ficino side. There appeared to be no real bibliography of Ficino's works to check over. The *Enciclopedia Italiana* offered no enlightenment. Gragg's *Latin Writings of the Italian Humanists* didn't mention our man. Tiraboschi produced no results. Rossi's *Quattrocento* mentioned that he wrote "un commentario sul 'Simposio'," and that hint, together with the fact we had gleaned that Ficino was noted for a translation of Plato, together with a commentary, started a speculation which a scholar in philosophy might have begun much sooner: Synprosium = Symposium = Plato; it must be as simple as that.

Feverishly we pawed through the two big volumes with their 1900 pages, finding material on dialogue after dialogue, Hippias Minor, Hippias Major, Phaedo, Timaeus, but, alas, no Symposium. How discouraging! Convinced, however,

that we were on the right track, we put the book aside a moment and thought. A notion seemed to creep over us that the Symposium was also known as the Banquet, or, in Latin, *convivium*. Or was it? Reference to the *Oxford Companion to Classical Studies* proved it was. We seized the books again and another search through them was begun. This time we triumphantly emerged with a result. There on page 1320 was the sought-for title "In convivium Platonis de amore, commentarium." We slipped a marker in the book and wired back to Hohoka, Missouri: "Can mail film Ficino commentary October 28."



LETTERS OF THOMAS H. BURROWES

By Robert L. Mohr

One of the greatest rewards that can come to an investigator of history is the good fortune of finding hitherto unused manuscripts of historical significance; that satisfaction is greatly enhanced if such materials can be made generally accessible to others. In the course of an investigation of the life and work of Thomas Henry Burrowes (1805-1871), political leader and educational statesman of Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century, recently conducted by the writer under the supervision of Dr. Thomas Woody, a private letter book of Burrowes was found. This letter book, containing a collection of 199 letters by Burrowes, written between 1836 and 1839, sheds much light on the political and educational history of Pennsylvania for that period. It was made available to the writer, and later became the property of the University Library, through the kindness and generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Harold S. Foley of Vancouver, British Columbia. These letters, together with some four hundred others, the majority of which had not been previously used, constituted one of the most valuable sources for gaining a better insight into Burrowes' career as political and educational leader.

Burrowes was one of the leaders of the Anti-Masonic political movement in Pennsylvania in the 1830's. The bulk of the letters deal with the political maneuvering of the party previous to, and during, the political imbroglio commonly known as the Buckshot War, which followed immediately after the election of 1838. These letters are indispensable to a complete understanding of this unique political spectacle; they also help to clarify the rise and decline of Anti-Masonry; and they give an intimate picture of the political strategy and

maneuvering of a brilliant though inexperienced upstart. In addition, these letters shed light on the party's relationship with the Whig party in numerous instances, and indicate Burrowes' appraisal of such national figures as William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun.

Burrowes, who was Secretary of the Commonwealth and *ex officio* Superintendent of Schools during the period covered by the letters, shows his growing interest in public education in a number of letters. Among the most distinguished people to whom his letters concerning politics and public education were addressed, are Amos Ellmaker, Robert Morris, William B. Reed, Nicholas Biddle, Thaddeus Stevens, Samuel Parke, Joseph Chandler, and Peter S. Du Ponceau.

At an early date many Anti-Masonic party leaders, including Burrowes, were forced to recognize the need of joining hands with the Whigs, even at the expense of losing party identity and at the price of submerging their chief party principle—the destruction of Masonry. The dilemma Burrowes found himself in regarding his party's coalition with the Whigs in 1836 is expressed in a letter to James Todd, December 9, 1836:

> I never till lately liked Harrison, because till lately I could not see that his name could be used by us except destructively of our principles. Now I think and see differently.
>
> If Harrison be brought fairly and legitimately before us as a candidate through the agency of a national Convention, all will support him, with some half dozen immaterial exceptions. I for my part will support him heart and hand, not that I love *him,* but that I love Antimasonry whose welfare his nomination, thus made, will promote.

On December 10, 1836, Burrowes wrote William B. Reed concerning Harrison: "I never liked the General, either as a statesman of talent and firm consistency, or as an Antimason. I was therefore exceedingly lukewarm in my support of him, tho' I voted for him. . . ."

After the state election of 1836, in which the opposing party —the Democratic—won control of both branches of the legislature, and his friend Stevens failed of re-election to that body, Burrowes wrote to Stevens on December 15, 1836, expressing his apparent dejection:

I have been looking for a report from you of your last election Campaign, according to promise, but am disappointed. I suppose you are so deeply engaged in romantic reverie, seated all day long no doubt in a Coal Basket, with your heels in the warm ashes of the Pig-Bed, that Antimasonry and all its friends and enemies are alike forgotten. This won't do. Why sir, the times are so stirring, aye and promising too, as to have extracted from even Parke's indolence and ill-humour, *four* pages of a letter on the old cause.

I must tell *you* a story. An Irishman was at sea in a ship lightly ballasted during a storm. Of course she *heeled* over very much. Paddy, with great public spirit, mounted up to the windward side of the cabin and held on there by a berth for hours. At last his hands became tired. So he cried out to the rest of the passengers who were quietly enjoying themselves in the "lee scuppers," "I'm not d - - d if yes don't come up here and help me to keep her balanch'd. I'll let her tumble over on yes with a splash." Now sir I am tired of being baited. There is neither pleasure nor profit in fighting enemies without the aid of friends. I have as good right as the rest of you to go home and take my ease. It is very probable that I should not be much missed, but I don't like to have the appearance of deserting.

My position here since I assumed it, you know, has not been the most comfortable. I came into office without previous notoriety to sustain me. I forced my way in, with what motive a sound Antimason must know, in spite of foes, and with the mere cold assent of friends. I was thus in a most responsible place, without that power and cordial aid which others, for the sake of the party should have volunteered, and I could do little. What little could be done has been done. Things have been prevented from going wholly to ruin, and are now in a condition for a fair Antimasonic start. Little progress has been made to success, but equally little deterioration has taken place. . . .

In response to the movement of certain Whigs, in 1837, to support Daniel Webster for presidential nomination, Burrowes wrote:

"Webster never can run in this state. His old Federal Out-War cause never can be forgiven here. Clay is worse. His denial of the constitutional right of any one to meddle with Masonry, and his colonization and course in the Missouri question will array the whole force and activity of Antimasonry and abolitionism against him.

"Who next? Why my good friend in confidence between you and me it most probably will be Jos. Ritner. And why not? What state has stronger claims than ours? And what candidate greater merit? None. And both will be acknowledged at the right time."

The letters pertaining to public education are significant in that they shed light on the earlier stages of the operation of the then newly enacted law providing for the establishment of common schools. The importance of these letters is magnified when it is recalled that Burrowes was the undisputed leader of public education in Pennsylvania for more than thirty years following 1838. Burrowes, although young and inexperienced in school affairs when he espoused the cause of education, solicited with great enthusiasm the advice and support of mature and distinguished public-spirited men. One of these citizens was Peter S. Du Ponceau of Philadelphia. Having previously made the acquaintance of the eminent scientist, statesman, and Revolutionary patriot, Burrowes forwarded him his second school report of 1837, in acknowledgment of which Du Ponceau wrote, March 17, 1837:

"I beg you will receive my thanks for the communication of your able and interesting report on the Common Schools of Pennsylvania. I have read it with great attention and with equal pleasure. It is fraught with enlarged views, and I hope that the wise plans which you suggest for carrying the system into effect will be adopted and have the desired success.

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"I have not yet quite made up my mind on the question that the art of communicating knowledge to young students can be acquired by special instruction. I had always thought that it was a gift of nature, like eloquence and facility of speaking. . . . However, as you hold a different opinion, I shall reflect more upon it and perhaps adopt your view.

"Your report on schools satisfied me that you are the very person who, in your situation, can best promote the cause of science and literature in this great state.

"I mean to submit your report to-night to the American Philosophical Society in your name, to be deposited in their library, where it will be preserved. I am an old man and after us it might be lost. I want it to remain for the benefit of posterity."

In the letter book is a copy of Burrowes' reply to Du Ponceau, written four days later:

"In the midst of duties at all times laborious and often harshly judged, it is exceedingly encouraging to receive such a letter as yours of the 17th inst. I feel that the terms used towards the report on Education and its writer are unmerited—still they are pleasant as imparting encouragement to do better from a quarter, whose simple 'go on' is worth the 'well done!' of hundreds of others.

"I think we do not disagree on the question whether the faculty of instructing is a gift or an acquisition. Like Eloquence, the power to impart knowledge is sometimes what is called a talent, but like eloquence it is a rare talent. On the other hand the great majority of public speakers—many of them graceful and pleasant—possess the art by acquisition. So of teachers. A few are teachers by nature, but the mass are, as you observe, 'teachers from the spirit of imitation which is so common among mankind; each naturally following the course pursued by *his* master.' Here again we do not differ in our reasoning. We have only reasoned from a different set of facts. You, residing in a city where teachers are generally well qualified, and the standard of knowledge is higher than in the country, have rightly concluded that the example of such teachers must produce similar ones. I, living in the country where ignorance prevails, and teachers are lamentably deficient, for the very

same reason am convinced that teachers *thus* taught can be no better than their exemplars, *who must be improved.*

"I thus write because I want your opinion to aid in the attempt to remedy the main defect of a system, whose absence has heretofore been a great reproach to Pennsylvania.

"Since the Report which you have so kindly received was sent, another impression was struck off for the use of the House. It is more correctly printed and in better shape than the one now in your possession. I shall forward you a copy which will be less unworthy the honourable destiny intended for the former.

"I fear the failure of the Bill to print a portion of the historical Records of the state. The small motive of preventing a certain Printer from obtaining the job, may defeat the project. If it succeed, I mean to devote the leisure I shall have during the session of the convention to amend the constitution to the preparation of a historical introduction for the work. It appears to me that a brief view of the *causes* which led to the settlement of this state, of the *manner* of that settlement and of the purchase of its territory from the aborigines, of the religious and political *tenets* and *customs* of the settlers, and of the effects which these and other causes have exerted on our rights and our laws, might produce some good. At least it would not be out of place. But of all these subjects I possess only the ordinary knowledge of a general and very careless scholar. I shall therefore have to rely on others who are better informed. Would it be too much to ask you, Sir, to name to me such works and collections as might assist me?

"After the Convention adjourns I intend to take a tour into every county of the State, to meet the Directors and teachers of each for the purpose of deciding controversies on the spot—of producing uniformity and harmony in the operations of the System—and of obtaining materials for a full and detailed report to the next Legislature. In the course of this perambulation I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you in Philadelphia and of expressing my thanks personally for your kind politeness."

Although Burrowes' formal education was limited to a few brief years spent at an Academy in Quebec and the Yale Law School, his thinking was probably stimulated most under the

careful supervision of private tutors, notably Amos Ellmaker of Lancaster, and John McEffer, a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. At any rate, Burrowes had developed deep and broad interests, particularly in literature. He was deeply engrossed in the early history of Pennsylvania and prepared a volume entitled *State Book,* which was published in 1847. His interest in, and knowledge of, the subject undoubtedly was the justification for Du Ponceau's request that he prepare certain materials for the Colonial Records. Though Burrowes' education had been gained through private agencies, his espousal of the cause of public education came about naturally, as a consequence of his political connections. Having adopted the role of public educator, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to it throughout the rest of his life. While he made his most permanent contribution to public education in Pennsylvania, his work was not limited to its confines, as may be gleaned from numerous documents which prove his participation in movements of a national scope. Bearing on this particular aspect of his educational views is a letter to the Postmaster General, William Hiester, December 16, 1836. In this document he proposed the suspension of postage charges "in every part of the Union," on official letters and reports pertaining to education: "It would be a small thing to the National Revenue, and would facilitate the spread and increase of information on the subject, and would show a spirit of good will to national Education which in my mind would be valuable."

Besides illuminating Burrowes' relationship with numerous local, state, and national political leaders, the letter book reveals the warp and woof of his political and educational philosophy. November 13, 1836, he wrote to William B. Reed: "Let it be set down as an undoubtable truth that the only *object* of Antimasonry is the *destruction of Masonry.*" It is not strange that this uncompromising zeal got him into difficulty, on occasion, with partisans and opponents alike.

Nevertheless, rebuff and frustration seem to have challenged him to continued and even greater effort. Burrowes' facility as a writer was well employed by his party in the preparation of political pamphlets. Although the source of *The Lives of David R. Porter and Joseph Ritner the two candidates for the office of Governor of Pennsylvania* (1838) is not indicated in the document itself, a letter written to Reed, July 15, 1838, establishes Burrowes' authorship. He also gave valuable assistance to Ritner in the preparation of the *Vindication of General Washington from the Stigma of Adherence to Secret Societies* (1837), and also assisted others in writing various political documents. Among his chief collaborators were Ellmaker and Stevens. To Stevens he wrote, January 26, 1837: "We have a glorious chance as you may have perceived by the newspapers to bring out Washington's views on Masonry. We are working at it and would like help." Hopes for Antimasonry were high, but they were destined to frustration. Kaleidoscopic changes are, naturally enough, the common acquaintance of politicians in all ages, and Burrowes' experience was no exception to the rule. Apropos of the changing scene, he wrote on February 4, 1837 to his intimate personal and political friend, Amos Ellmaker, who at one time was a candidate for the Vice Presidency on the Antimasonic ticket: "I never was so much puzzled with the political game as yesterday and never understood it so clearly as today."

A CORRECTION

The article by Mary Cathryne Park entitled "Some Early English Imprints," printed in the April issue of the *Chronicle,* pp. 4-10, which claimed locations in University of Pennsylvania libraries for "eighteen copies of *S.T.C.* books, hitherto unrecorded in America," and also locations in these libraries for "thirty-four additions to the *Short-Title Catalogue,*" was unfortunately characterized by *trop de zèle.* The claimed locations for *S.T.C.* books which were noted by Miss Park must unfortunately be reduced about one-half, although it is now possible to add four items to the list. Much more serious was the extended list of "additions" to the *Short-Title Catalogue* which Miss Park believed she had brought to light in our libraries. A careful examination by experts has revealed that only two of her items may be claimed as real "additions," viz., Wm. Rastell (ed.), *Collection of all the statutes, from the beginning of Magna Carta vnto the yeare of our Lord (1557)* . . . , Tottel, London, 1566, which is in the Biddle Law Library; and *Horse mans honour, or The beautie of horsemanship,* Helme, London, 1620, which is in the Library of the School of Veterinary Medicine. To these two items a third may now be added, viz., Sternhold and Hopkins' *Psalmes,* 1583, 4⁰, single column, which is in the Furness Memorial Library.

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